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PREFACE

The study and analysis of Fanti, and the preparation of this grammar and vocabulary, were made possible by a generous grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. The work was part of the Intensive Language Program of that Council, and part of the project of supplying implementation for the study of African languages at the University of Pennsylvania. My deepest gratitude is due the American Council of Learned Societies, and Dr. J. M. Cowan, the Director of the Intensive Language Program.

It is hard to express my indebtedness also to Mr. Francis N. K. Nkrumah and Mr. Kobina-Ahin Ahumanu Mbura, on whose speech this grammar is based. Both proved to be patient and cooperative informants, and their appreciation of the work that was being done made them much more than that. Both are remarkable in their ability to express in precise English the meaning of a Fanti expression. Work with them was no chore, but a pleasure.

Dr. Zellig S. Harris, of the faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Pennsylvania, is responsible in large measure for the accomplishment of the task of analyzing and describing Fanti. He shared in the initial phonological work, maintained a constant interest in the rest of the work, and contributed many valuable suggestions and, above all, an unfailing inspiration. I owe him my profoundest thanks.

Grateful acknowledgement should also be made of the entire class of eight which took the intensive course in Fanti offered at the University of Pennsylvania during the summer of 1942, when work on Fanti had just been begun. Their help in obtaining material can hardly be measured, and their patience with the unstable materials and methods of intensive instruction is not forgotten. Particular mention should be made of Mr. Kalman Silvert, who first recognized several Portugese loan-words in Fanti.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Fanti is the principal language of the Gold Coast Colony, which forms the southern part of the Gold Coast, British West Africa. It is the native language of perhaps a million people, and is used as a second language by many more. To a large extent it appears to be mutually intelligible with Twi, which is spoken in the Ashanti province to the north. It is not, however, mutually intelligible with Gã, the language of Accra, the Gold Coast capital. Fanti is a member of the Akan group of languages, and falls into the general classification of Sudanic languages.

2. Speakers of Fanti recognize the dialect of the coastal town of Anumabo as the "best" Fanti, although that dialect has no official standing. The town of Cape Coast appears to be a more active center of Fanti education and writing, but this description follows as closely as possible the dialect of Anumabo.

3. The material on which this description was first based is the speech of Mr. Francis N. Nkrumah. Work was done with him during the summer of 1942, at Philadelphia, while he was a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania. Since that time, however, it has appeared that his speech was not as consistently that of Anumabo as had been thought; in fact, there appeared to be a considerable amount of dialect mixture and perhaps even of language mixture. Consequently, this description has since been adjusted to the dialect of Anumabo by a study of the speech of Mr. Kobina-Ahin Ahumanu Mbura, a native of Anumabo; this study was made in part-time work in August–October, 1944. The basic analysis remains the same, but omissions and inconsistencies have to some extent been eliminated. Mr. Mbura is responsible also for the texts which have been appended, and for valuable contributions to the accuracy and completeness of the vocabulary.

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I. THE PHONEMES

0.0. This chapter is essentially a revision, with numerous corrections and additions, of the article "The Phonemes of Fanti", by William E. Welmers and Zellig S. Harris, in JAOS 62.4 (1942). Besides many material changes, a basic change has been made in the form of presentation. In that article, the sound types are listed first, and are then grouped into phonemes on the criterion of complementary distribution. This chapter reverses that procedure; the phonemes are listed first, and then their positional variants are described. No notes are made of changes or additions; for all purposes except a study of methodology, this chapter supplants the earlier article.

0.1. In describing the positional variants of the phonemes, two procedures are possible; all the variants of each phoneme may be listed together, following the list of phonemes, or variants of several phonemes which show a common characteristic may be described together. The latter course seems preferable in this case, and has been followed.

0.2. The use of a great number of phonetic symbols has been avoided; in cases where a commonly used symbol is readily understandable, it is used, but otherwise a brief description of the sound is given.

1.0. The following are the phonemes of Fanti; they are divided into two groups, segmental and suprasegmental, and further subdivided into phoneme classes on the basis of distribution, and finally, for convenience sake, into phonetic classes.

1.1. The segmental phonemes consist of thirteen consonants (three of which are written as clusters), four consonants or vowels, five vowels, and five junctures. A phoneme is a consonant if it never occurs with a tone; it is a consonant or a vowel if it sometimes occurs with a tone; it is a vowel if it always occurs with a tone. The names given to the junctures are not intended to be descriptive of their phonetic character; the criteria for establishing and distinguishing them are discussed below in 5.0–10.

Consonants:

Voiceless stops:	p	t	k	kw
Voiced stops:	b	d	g	gw
Voiceless spirants:	f	s	h	hw
Voiced spirants:			y	

Consonants or vowels:

Voiced spirants:	w	r
Nasal spirants:	m	n

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Middle	e		o
Low		a	

Junctures:

Stop:	(period) /./
Pause:	(comma) /,/
Break:	(space or) / ⁂ /
Open juncture:	(hyphen) /-/
Close juncture:	(no space or mark between phonemes).

1.2. The suprasegmental phonemes all have reference to vowels only. They are classified according to the number and arrangement of vowels with which they occur.

Simultaneous with a limited series of vowels not necessarily adjacent, and written after the last /i/ or /u/ of the series:

Heightening of vowels: /'/.

Simultaneous with one vowel or with two immediately adjacent vowels, and written above the second of the two:

Nasalization: /~/.

Simultaneous with only one vowel: High tone, Mid tone, Low tone. These tones are written according to the following rules:

One or more initial low tones: unmarked.

The first of one or more high tones, occurring initially, after low tone, or after another high tone if open juncture (hyphen) intervenes: /'/.

The first of one or more low tones after a high tone: /'/.

The first of one or more mid tones, which occurs only after a high tone and with no open juncture (hyphen) intervening: /'/.

The reference of any tone mark, including no mark initially, extends to the next break (space), passing the bounds of open juncture (hyphen). The following common sequences illustrate these rules:

. . .'. . .	low...high...	*aburéntie*	'young man'
. . .''	low...high low	*mirikásà*	'I am speaking'
. . .''	low...high mid	*niankúpón*	'God'
. . .'''	low...high low mid	*asupáàtír*	'shoes'
'-. . .'	high-...high	*má-agi'á*	'my father'

2.0. The positional variants of consonants are described in this section, including the variants of /w, r, m, n/ when they are used as consonants, having no tone.

2.1. It is convenient to speak of the "normal" phonetic value of consonant phonemes as those variants which occur in all positions except as noted below. For some consonants, the "normal" variant is limited to the occurrences of the consonant before non-nasalized /a, o, u/; in other cases, there are more positions; in the case of /gw, hw/, no occurrences exist except as listed below; and /r/ varies even within this limited position, as described below. The "normal" variants of the remaining consonants /p, t, k, kw, b, d, g, f, s, h, w, y, m, n/ are not appreciably different from the values of the corresponding English phonemes

in initial position; voiceless stops are aspirated fortis, voiced consonants are lenis.   Examples of these consonants with their "normal" variants:

pápa	good	ófà	he takes
ntá	twins	osá	war
nkáa	debt	ohá	a hundred
kwasía	a fool	war	long
obá	child	yabá	an earthen pot
ódà	he sleeps	ómà	he gives
ógù'	he pours	nán	leg, foot

2.2. It may probably[1] be safely said that all of the consonants have variants with a common characteristic before the high front vowel /i/, and that all but the alveolar series have the same variants before /e/; none of these variants occurs before /i/ when the same consonant with its normal variant follows (e.g., the normal variant occurs in /kika/ 'to bite habitually', but this variant in both cases in /kikir/ 'to tie up'; morphologically this is reduplication), and other exceptions in individual cases are noted below.   The common phonetic characteristic of all of these variants may roughly be called "palatalization", although in a strict sense that description applies to only a few cases.   The detailed description and limitations of environment for the individual consonants is as follows:

/p, b, f, w, m/ are palatalized before /i, e/.   The palatalization of /p, b, f, m/ is scarcely audible before /i/; it is impossible to hear it during the lip contact, and it is homorganic with the vowel after the contact is released.   However, the palatalization of /w/ before /i/, and of all these consonants before /e/, is strong and easily distinguished.   There is a short [y] glide before /e/.   E.g.,

apím	a thousand	pe	like, want
obí'	someone	abén	horn
fí'	come from, go from	fé	beautiful
awí'	thief	wen	to guard
ími	I, me	amén	herring

/t, d/ are affricated with sibilant release, resulting in [ts, dz], before /i/ only. E.g.,

ti	hear	di'	partake of, eat
tíntin	long	adikédi	gift

The stop attack of [dz] is very light in some cases, and in rapid speech is often scarcely audible; e.g., orididí' 'he is eating'.   In the case of a few exceptions, the normal stop variants of these phonemes occur; [d] occurs when the next consonant (after close juncture) is /h/, the only example of which is /odíhí/ 'nobleman, rich man', and in the case of the one place name /ediná/ 'Cape

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[1] Some of these variants, particularly in the labial consonants, did not occur in Mr Nkrumah's speech.

Coast';[2] [t] often occurs in /tiná/ 'live at'. [dz] also occurs before [a] in the one form [dza·]; this is analyzed as /di ǂ aa/, see 4.12 below.

/s/ retains its normal variant with no audible alternation before /i, e/. However, by comparison with the variants of /t, d/, it may be said that /s/ is similarly affected in this position, but that the effect equals zero because /s/ is already a sibilant.

/r/ is treated comprehensively in 2.5 below.

/n/ is palatalized with [y] release, resulting in [ny], before /i, e/. E.g.,

ní	be identical with	ni'a	get
ni'ná	all	anén	witch (a rare case of /ne/).

Several cases of [n] before /i/ and [ny] before [a] require special analysis and statement, as follows:

/n/ retains its normal variant [n] before /ii/; the only case of this is /antì/ 'west'.

Initial [ní], always followed by open juncture (hyphen), is analyzed as /nú/. This does not contrast with other occurrences of /nu/, and it happens also to represent the morpheme which has the form [nú], also analyzed as /nú/, in other positions. Compare [ní] in /nú-dán/ 'his house' with [nú] in /ónu/ 'he, him' and /idán-nu/ 'the house'.

Final [nɪ, ni], always with low tone, are analyzed as /ni, ni'/. This does not contrast with [nyɪ, nyi] in any case; the latter occur finally only with high tone. Morphologically, this always represents the past tense of a verb whose stem ends in /n/. E.g., /migwìnì/ 'I thought'; compare /mígwìn/ 'I think', and [ny] in /onì/ 'with'.

The common sequence [nya] is analyzed as /ni'a/, unless the vowel harmony demands /nia/ (see 6.1 below). The variant of /i/ in such cases is zero (see 4.12 below), written to represent the variant of the preceding consonant, and often also because of the vowel harmony; other consonants require the same analysis. E.g., /óni'à/ 'he gets', /óni'àn/ 'he wakes up', /niamì/ 'God'.

This palatalized variant of /n/ must be carefully distinguished from phonemic /ny/, and from /nn/ before /i, e/, which is phonetically [nny]. In both cases there is a syllable division between the two phonemes, and, if the cluster is initial, /n/ is a vowel; in addition, the tongue contact for /nn/ is longer than that for /n/. E.g., /onì/ 'with', /onyé dem/ 'it isn't so', /onnì há/ 'he isn't here'.

/k, g, h, y/ have the variants [č, ǧ, š, ž] before /i, e/, except that /h/ has this variant only before non-nasalized /i, e/; the variant of /h/ before nasalized

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[2] This may be a borrowed word, or an archaic form now largely supplanted by the English form. Mr. Nkruma uses the normal variant also in /adikiĭ/ 'morning' and /adisaâ/ 'evening'. Some dialects of Fanti have [ts, dz] also before /e/ regularly, paralleling other consonants. In Mr. Mbura's speech, this phenomenon occurs freely in a few words, and regularly in a few others, which were possibly learned from speakers of dialects in which that alternation is regular; such forms are for the present assumed to be with [t] and [d] in Anumabo, until more complete evidence is available.

/i, e/ is palatalized [h]. [ž] has very little friction, and is often scarcely distinguishable from [y].   E.g.,

kiw	fry	íyi'	this
nkín	salt	ye	do, make, be described as
ke	give, present	hi'ã	need ([hy])
gi'ná	dwell	ohín	chief ([hy])
hirá	earthen water-pot ([š])	ihén	boat ([hy])
he	he located at (out of sight) ([š])		

There are several specific exceptions to this general statement. The normal variant of /k/ occurs when the next consonant is /t, s/ (/g, h, y/ do not occur in this position, but would presumably follow the same rule), and also before /ira/, in the second as well as the first /k/ of /ki'etéké/ 'train', and in /ké/ before a consonant plus low-tone vowel or before a consonant plus high-tone vowel when a low tone follows that.   In the last case, the first vowel after /ké/ is /i, e, a/, and /ké/ is morphologically a verbal prefix (see Chapter II, 2.8 below), but its positions are phonemically distinctive. E.g., the normal variants in /kísà/ 'chew', /kí'tà/ 'polish', /kesí/ 'big', /kira/ 'soul', /mirikédà/ 'I'm going to sleep'. [ǧa] is analyzed as /gi'a/ (cf. /ni'a/ above); /kiá, ki'á/ occur, but with the normal variants of the vowels; see 4.12 below.   Note also the normal variant of /k/ in /kíkà/ as stated above.

/kw, gw/ have as variants before /i, e/ palatal affricates similar to [č, ǧ], but with bilabial and palatal release. These sounds are similar to the common variants of English /t, d/ in true, drew, but there is no retroflex release with the Fanti sounds. E.g.

kwĩ	pull	awokwí	eight	gwi	quiet down

The voiceless member of this pair occurs also before [a]; the combination is analyzed as /kwi'a/. The voiced form occurs also before /u/, usually when /m/ follows. Since /gw/ has no "normal" variant, no further statement is necessary; however, it is apparent that most or all of the cases of /u/ are secondary changes from /i/.   E.g., /gwìu/ 'lice' (perhaps originally /gwíw/); /agwì'ma/ 'work', compare /agwi'n-fú/ 'craftsmen'.

/hw/ is a close, palatalized bilabial spirant, produced with the lips pursed almost as for whistling; it occurs only before /i, e/.   E.g.

hwi	beat	hwe	look at	mirihwihwé	I want

2.3. Many consonants have variants with similar characteristics when they occur before phonemically nasalized vowels or before vowels which are non-phonemically nasalized before /m, n/.

/p, t, k, kw/ have variants with nasalized aspiration in this position.   This is true also of their palatalized variants before /i, e/.   E.g.,

pĩ'	scatter	kã	speak, touch
apím	a thousand	kan	count
dapén	a week	ikù'n	husband
tũ	bake	nkín	salt
tan	hate	kwĩ	pull

/h, hw, w/ are nasalized throughout in this position; in addition, /w/ has a very short /n/ onset. E.g.,

hũ'	see	wen	to guard
ahwią̃	sand	wánwa	wonderment

This variant of /w/ with [n] onset must be distinguished from /nw/, where there is a syllable division; e.g., /nwurába/ 'stars', both sounds in /wánwa/.

2.4. /p, b, k, h/ have a light bilabial release before /on, or/; the release is nasalized before /on/, according to 2.3 above. E.g.,

aponkí̧	goat	okori hó	he went there
bón	evil	óhon	they
kón	the neck		

2.5. /r/ is an alveolar trill with two or three contacts, or occasionally a flap. The position of all but the trilling tip of the tongue is homorganic with, or at least attracted to, the position of the following vowel, if there is one, or else that of the preceding vowel. /r/ is therefore palatalized before /i/, velarized before /u/, and similarly affected to a lesser extent before /e, o/; the back of the tongue is low before /a/. If /r/ is final, the same variants occur after the same vowels. If the adjacent vowel is under the influence of /'/ (see 6.1 below), the tongue seems to be more relaxed during the articulation of /r/, giving it something of the phonetic effect of [l]. E.g.,

bi'ř	become black	birú'	coal
biř	become ripe	agúr	playing
ambér	passenger-loading boat	asór	prayer
war	long		

2.6. The tongue position of /n/ is homorganic with that of a following consonant. It is labiodental [ɱ] before /f/, apical [n] before /t/, laminal [ṇ] before /s/, velar [ŋ] before /k/, voiced nasalized [h] before /h/. Before /w/, however, /n/ is apical-alveolar as before /t/. This statement applies to both consonantal and vocalic /n/; the following examples are almost all of vocalic /n/, because such are more frequent. E.g.,

nfoní'n	picture	nsá	hand
ntá	twins	nwurába	stars
nkáa	debt	onhű́'	he doesn't see

Speakers of English must be particularly careful not to insert a [t] between /n/ and /s/, as in /nsá/; it is not phonemically distinctive before other vowels than /i/, but is inaccurate in any case, and in a pair such as /maantí/ 'I didn't hear' and /maansí/ 'I didn't say' the contrast between [nts] and [ns] is minimal.

2.7. /b/ is very light, almost inaudible, after /m/. E.g.,

ambér	passenger-loading boat	mbá children.

3.0. The positional variants of /w, r, m, n/, which are either consonants, without tone, or vowels, with tone and syllabicity, are adequately stated in the

above section so far as articulatory data are concerned. The conditions under which these phonemes are consonants or vowels are considered in this section.

3.1. /m, n/ are vowels when they occur between a break (space) and a consonant, or between two consonants. E.g.,

mpá	mat, bed	But	*mí-mpá*	my bed
ntá	twins	But	*mintí*	I don't hear

díndinndin very difficult (the only occurrences between consonants are in this type of triplicated form).

3.2. /m, n, r/ are sometimes vowels after other vowels, with a different tone from the preceding vowel. In these cases a tone mark is used which indicates both the tone and the fact that the phoneme is a vowel. There are only a few cases of final vocalic /n/, and all are rare as vowels medially, before a consonant. E.g.,

deḿ	thus	*busúḿ*	moon
dáṁ	checkers *or* chess	*ahwíŕ*	sugar cane
iki'ń	drum	*baḿ-ki'm*	the state umbrella
bíŕ	become ripe	*furáṅká*	flag
buŕ	beat	*fafiráṅtá*	butterfly

3.3. In some forms, final /w, r, m, n/ are phonetically vowels, with low tone preceded by a high tone; in very slow and careful speech, the vowel /i/ is added to these forms, and the phonemes in question become consonants. These forms always occur medially in an utterance; in sentence final position the forms with final /i/ always occur, even in rapid speech. In the light of these facts, and of the fact that no contrast with other forms in final /'wì/ etc. exists, it is possible to write the slow-speech alternant always; the vocalic /w, r, m, n/ is then an alternant of the combination /wi, ri, mi, ni/ in this particular tone pattern. E.g.,

osúmì ná-agi'a	'he served his father'
obúrì ní-nú'a	'he beat his brother'
otónì ṁpúa	'he sold bananas'
okíwì nám	'he fried fish'

osúmì (with consonantal /m/, normal vowel) 'he served'

3.4. In many forms, final /w, m, n/ are vowels, with low or high tone, preceded by either a consonant or a vowel, and by either the same or a different tone; these forms are heard only in rapid speech, while in slow or moderately slow speech a vowel is added and the phoneme in question becomes a consonant. These forms occur medially or finally in an utterance. Open juncture (hyphen) precedes /w, m, n/ in these cases; in fact, the statements below are the criterion for establishing this juncture in these cases. When the juncture is preceded by a vowel, and when the same tone precedes, the /w, m, n/ in rapid speech is at the borderline between customary definitions of a consonant and a vowel. In these cases, however, the normal variant of the vowel (see 4.1, 2 below) is used, rather than the pre-consonantal variant (see 4.7 below); consequently the /w, m, n/ after the juncture is to be considered a second vowel. All of these forms are

written, however, with the vowel that follows them in slower speech; the vowel variant of /w, m, n/ is then an alternant of the consonant-vowel sequence. The final sequences that occur are /-mi, -mu', -nu, -wu/. In all recorded cases, the phonemic distinction between /-mi/ and /-mu'/ is apparent even when both are reduced to vocalic [m] in rapid speech. The tone of /-mu'/ and its variant [m] is often high, while that of /mi/ is always low; vowel harmony often demands /-mu'/ and makes /-mi/ impossible; and the vowels /i, e, a/ are always rounded before /-mu'/. If none of these criteria applies, there would presumably be ambiguity in rapid speech, or, just as likely, the speech would be slowed down a trifle for the full form. No such instances have been recorded, and the morphology allows for very few possibilities of that kind, so it seems profitable to write the slow-speech form in all cases; in any case, the slower form is easy to elicit from a speaker of the language. E.g.,

ótàn-wu	he hates you	nokwár-nu	the truth
ontán-mì	he doesn't hate me	ka-mú'	shout
míhũ̀'-wu	I see you	bura-mú'	come in!
óhũ̀'-mi	he sees me	osíì'-mú'	he set out
oríkìw-nu	he is frying it	oti dán kesí-mù'	he lives in a large
abír-nu	that time, then		house.

The most common usage of /-mu'/ is in constructions such as /owo dán-nu nú-mù'/ 'he is in the house'; /-mi/ never occurs in this position.

4.0. The positional variants of vowels other than /w, r, m, n/ are described in this section.

4.1. It is convenient to speak of the "normal" phonetic value of vowel phonemes as those variants which a non-nasalized vowel has before a juncture or before a consonant which is followed by another vowel. All vowels occur in this position. The phonetic values are those usually assigned to the symbols used, except as noted. The closest English comparisons are given for the sake of convenience.

/i/ is [ɪ] or slightly lower. E.g. /si/ 'say'. Cf. sit.

/e/ is [ɛ]. E.g. /pe/ 'like, want'. Cf. pet.

/a/ is [a]. E.g. /da/ 'lie down, sleep'. Cf. ma, dot.

/o/ is [ɔ]. E.g. /do/ 'to love'. Cf. for, fought; /o/ is between.

/u/ is [ʊ] or slightly lower. E.g. /bu/ 'get drunk'. Cf. put.

4.2. The "normal" value of vowel phonemes under the influence of /'/, which indicates a higher and more relaxed series of vowels, is as follows; all the vowels given are under the influence of /'/, whose scope will be described below in 6.1:

/i'/ is [i]. E.g., /si'/ 'build, happen'. Cf. seat.

/'e/ is [e]. E.g., /si'e/ 'bury'. Cf. ate. /e/ occurs only after /'/ unless it is separated from /'/ by an open juncture (hyphen) or break (space). When it is followed immediately by hyphen or space, it is always preceded by one of the palatalized variants of a consonant; the sequence /ke-mu'/ is possible, with the variant [č] for /k/, but the sequence /te-mu'/ is impossible, because /t/ does not have a palatalized variant before /e/. The sound [e] occurs before /'/ with only close junctures following, and after /t, d, s/ with hyphen or space imme-

diately following, but in these cases it is phonemically analyzed as /a/; see below.

/'a/ is [ae] or slightly lower after /i/ when no consonant intervenes. E.g. /hi'a/ 'meet'. It is [ɑ] after /u/ when no consonant intervenes. E.g., /bu'á/ 'reply'. It is [a] after anything else. E.g., /pi'ra/ 'hurt', su'má 'hide'.

/a/ before /'/ is [e]. This does not contrast with /e/ in this position, because /e/ occurs in this position only after consonant alternants which never precede /a/. The variants of the two vowel phonemes as such are the same, but it can be determined which is which phonemically by the preceding consonant. E.g., /adu'/ 'ten', /biraafi'/ 'wicker basket (for holding fish)', /ha-mú'/ 'forest, bush country' (here /h/ is [h]; compare /he-mú'/ 'put in', where /h/ is [š], though the rest of the form is identical phonetically).[3]

/'o/ is [o]. E.g. /ofú'n/ 'corpse'. Cf. *hope*.

/u'/ is [u]. E.g. /tu'/ 'dig, fly'. Cf. *toot*.

4.3. /i, e, a/ before /-mu'/, as illustrated above, are also rounded, becoming respectively [ü], [ö], and (the same) [ö].

4.4. The vowel of initial /nú/ has the same phonetic value as /i/ has elsewhere, as stated above in 2.2. This vowel and the vowels of initial /mi, mí, wú/ and of initial or non-initial /ri, rí/ are only partially influenced by heightening (/'/), forming exceptions to the statement of 4.2. The following rules cover the cases:

/i/ is regularly influenced before /yi'/. E.g. /míyì'/ 'I take away'.

/i/ is [u] before /hu'/. E.g. /mìhǚ'/ 'I see'.

/i/ is [ʋ] before /hu/. E.g. /mìhũ/ 'myself', /núhũ/ 'himself'.

/i/ in other cases, and /u/ in all cases, are partially assimilated to the following vowel. They are slightly higher before a higher vowel, lower before a low vowel; /i/ is farther back before a back vowel, /u/ is farther forward before a front vowel. There are as many different variants as there are vowels. E.g., /mídò/ 'I love', /wú-sìkán/ 'your knife'. This alternation is even more easily

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[3] This analysis of [e] as /e/ and /a/ in complementary environments is required by the very existence of a contrast such as /ha-mú', he-mú'/. It is strengthened by a consideration of morphophonemics which should be stated here. In a large number of the positions in which [e] is assigned to the phoneme /a/, it represents all or part of the same morpheme as [a] does when /'/ is not influencing the vowel. Thus a widespread morphophonemic change is covered with no injustice to the facts by a phonemic statement. E.g., /maásì/ is for [maásì] 'I have said'; /maásì'/ is for [meêsì] 'I have built'.

By the same morphophonemic principle, both /te/ and /ta/ are actualized as [te] when they come under the influence of /'/, and the same is true when the consonant is /d, s/, since these consonants alone have no special variants before /e/. Here a phonemic writing of both forms as /ta/ is necessary, although it obscures the distinction between morphemes; after all, that distinction is obscured in speech as well. Such a procedure is far preferable to analyzing [e] as /e/ in all cases and thus obscuring real phonemic distinctions such as are given above.

A similar morphophonemic principle changes /a/ to /o/ between labials, especially /w/, and /-mu'/; e.g. /kwó-mù'/ 'bush country' from /kwẫ/ 'farm', /fó-mù'/ or /fá-mù'/ 'the ground, down' from /fá/ 'earth, swish'; compare /wo-mú'/ 'be inside' from /wo/ 'be at'. Here the phonemic analysis parallels the phonetic facts; /o/ is [o] in each case. But the analysis of [e] as /a/ is not a violation of any phonetic data; [e] as a variant of /a/ and [e] as a variant of /e/ occur in complementary distribution, and other phonetic data, the variants of preceding consonants, demand the analysis.

heard than that between a following short and unstressed /u/ and /i/; the clearer of the two vowel distinctions in /mí-kurá/ 'my calabash' and /mí-kirá/ 'my soul' is in the first vowel, not the second.

4.5. By a somewhat similar process, /o/ has a light palatal off-glide before a consonant followed by /i'/. E.g., /wósì'/ 'they build'.

4.6. Nasalized vowels have the same position as those which are not nasalized. Vowels are nasalized non-phonemically before consonantal but not before vocalic /m, n/ when a juncture or another consonant follows; this nasalization determines the allophones of the preceding consonants (see 2.3 above), but is itself determined by the following nasal spirant. Non-phonemic nasalization occurs also after /m, n/, with some freedom as to its degree. Only /i, u, a/ are phonemically nasalized. The nasalization includes the immediately preceding vowel if there is one. E.g.,

fĩ́'	dirty	kũ	fight
kwĩ	pull	hi'ã́	need
kã	speak, touch	su'ã́	study
kũ'	kill	adikĩ́ĩ	morning

4.7. Vowels before final consonants, which are only /w, r, m, n/, or before /m, n/ followed by another consonant, have variants that are somewhat shorter, and assimilated partly in the direction of the midcentral tongue position; all the vowels, are however, still distinguishable in this position. After /t, d, s/, and before /m, n/, /a/ is [ae] or slightly lower. E.g.,

yír	wife	apím	a thousand
kiw	fry	ofú'n	corpse
asór	prayer	sum	serve
dow	plow	súr	heaven, above, up
bán	wall, fence	itám	garment
nankwĩ́'	cow	dán	house

4.8. /i, u/ before another vowel are somewhat shorter than their normal variants; /u'/ has the variant [ü] in this position when the preceding consonant is /t, d, s, n/. E.g.,

hi'ã́	need	dú'a	tree
bu'á	answer	su'ã́	study

4.9. Similarly, /i, u/ are very short when their tone is low and when they are followed by /w, r, m, n/ and another vowel. In some cases, especially before /r/, it is difficult to tell that there is a vowel at all; however, in slow speech no clusters of consonant plus /r/ occur, and even in rapid speech the tone is always distinguishable, though it may seem to go with the /r/ rather than with a vowel; consequently a vowel must always be written. Which vowel is present is a question somewhat harder to answer. In most cases, the variant of the preceding consonant and the vowel harmony are decisive. If the preceding consonant has its palatalized variant, the vowel is /i/, otherwise it is /u/; and /'/ is present also if other vowels demand it. In remaining cases of doubt, as those in which

the preceding consonant has no palatalized variant before /i/, as is the case of /k/ before /ira/, the distinction between /i/ and /u/ is audible even in rapid speech, though it takes careful listening to hear it, even for a native speaker; in slow speech the distinction is perfectly clear.   It is convenient also to note that in all dubious cases except the one pair /kurá/ 'calabash' and /kirá/ 'soul', the vowel in slower speech turns out to be /u/.   These very short vowels are often voicelss.   The following examples show the criteria for distinctions that are easier to hear than the mere distinction between the two vowels.

opi''rá	he hurts	(palatalized /p/, high vowels)
opirá	he sweeps	(palatalized /p/, low vowels)
opu'ró	he stumbles	(normal /p/, high vowels)
pu'rékó	pig	(normal /p/, high vowels)
oturé	he spreads	(normal /t/, low vowels)
furá	call	(normal /f/, low vowels)
kurá	calabash	(vowel is [ʊ] when heard carefully)
kirá	soul	(vowel is [ɪ], /k/ perhaps slightly farther forward than in /kurá/.)

4.10. Double writing of vowels indicates length.   This is true also when a juncture is written between the two vowels.   E.g.,

pii'	many, much		mbá ahín	how many children?
nkáa	debt		má-agi'á	my father
tuu	throw, shoot		má-awúfu	my parents
búùkú'	book		obaa há	he came here

4.11. There are a few cases in which double (i.e., long) vowels occur before final /n/.   In these cases, the whole sequence indicates a long nasalized vowel which is higher toward the end.   When the vowel is /i/, the rise of the tongue seems to approach a palatalized [n].   When the vowel is /o/, the rise of the tongue seems to approach [ŋ].   E.g.,

dii'n	silent	su'óon	stinking
dónkuroon	deep	akunkurɑ́an	raven

4.12. /i, u/ have zero variants in the following cases:
/i, u/ after /w, r, m, n/ when the combination has the variant of a vocalic /w, r, m, n/, as stated fully in 3.3–4 above.

/u/ after several consonants before /'o/; the combination /u'o/ has the variant [o] in these cases.   The same combination does not occur after any consonants with any other variants.   The analysis of [o] in these cases as /u'o/ instead of /i'/ is made for one reason only; [o] is so rare as the only vowel in an utterance that it is preferable to say that it is always (as it obviously is in most cases) an alternant of /o/ under the influence of /'/.   In the vast majority of cases /u'/ or /i'/ with its normal variant occurs elsewhere in the vicinity; in the few cases where this is not true, /u'/ is written before /o/ and /u/ is said to have a zero variant.   Compare the similar analysis of an occasional /i'e/ below.   Examples of /u'o/ as [o] are /asu'ón/ 'seven', /pu'o/ 'roar, howl'.

/i/ after /g, kw, n/ before /'a/, and after /g, n, k, hw, y/ before /'e/; the combination /i'a/ in such cases is [a], the combination /i'e/ is [e]. E.g. /gi'a/ or /gi'e/ 'leave', /kwi'a/ 'cut', /ni'a/ 'get', /ni'an/ 'wake up', /ki'etéké/ 'train', /hwi'ew/ 'sip from the hands', /yi'é/ 'be good'. Note that phonemic /ki'a/ 'greet' does not have the zero variant of /i/; however, it is not included in the above statement, and the statement includes no contrasts or contradictions.

/i/ after /d, n/ before /a/. E.g. /di aa/ 'that which', /niamí/ 'God', /niankú/ 'friend'. In all of these cases, /i/ is demanded instead of /i'/ because of the vowel harmony. If the vowel harmony is indecisive, /i'/ is written, as in /ni'am/ 'mash, shine'. However, in some other occurrences of this sequence with the same meaning, /'/ cannot be written; /oriniàm/ 'he is mashing' contrasts with /orini'àm/ 'he is shining'.

/i/ after /s/ before /'a/ in some tonal contexts but not in others. This statement is not complete, but there is little doubt that an adequate statement can be made with additional evidence. The /i'/ is demanded by vowel harmony in every case. The worst that can be said for this statement is that it gives only a unilateral one-to-one correspondence, from speech to writing but not from writing to speech; the best that can be said is that a more careful study of the tone contexts will clarify the confusion. In the following cases /i/ has the zero variant: /osi'àǹ déè/ 'because', /isi'ám/ 'flour', /mánsi'á/ 'strong as three men (said of a machine, somewhat slangy)' or the name given to the third male child in the family (compare /mánsá/, the third female child's name), and perhaps also /si'an/ 'untie, let down, carve'.[4] The following forms have the normal pre-vocalic variant of /i/: /asi'á/ 'six', /basí'a/ 'woman'.

/i/ after /b/ before /'a/ in the one form /ebi'ásã/ 'three'. This does not contrast with other cases of /bi'a/, but compare /biá/ 'place', with the normal variant of /i/. The vowel harmony demands /'/ in /ebi'ásã/, and /i/ must be written because /'/ never occurs after vowels other than /i, u/ in other cases.[5]

There are two reasons for this type of phonemic analysis in these cases; both reasons are present in many cases, but sometimes only one. /i/ is demanded with a zero variant in many cases to explain the palatalized variant of the preceding consonant; e.g., /kwi'a/ 'cut', /niamí/ 'God'. /'/ is demanded in most cases to explain the vowel harmony, and since it does not occur apart from /i, u/ in the vast majority of cases, it is written with /i, u/ in these cases as well; e.g. /esu'ón/ 'seven', /isi'ám/ 'flour'. Both reasons are present in cases such as /ókwi'à/ 'he cuts', /óni'àn/ 'he wakes up'. The analysis is happily confirmed in many cases by dialectical differences.

A similar analysis might be used in cases of phonetic [tsɛ, tse], writing them as /tie, ti'e/; however, the vowel harmony is never decisive in these cases, and it

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[4] It is significant that, according to Mr. Mbura, /osi'àǹ déè/ does not have the zero variant but the normal variant of /i/ in the Cape Coast dialect. A small Fanti dictionary by J. Delaney Russell (1910) lists the form as osandę, but lists the word for 'flour' as isĩam, indicating the presence of the normal alternant of /i/ in that form also. The evidence for /si'an/ is rather scarce, but it seems likely that the zero alternant occurs in some forms of the verb, as in /orisi'àn/ 'he is untieing', but not in others as /osi'án/ 'he unties'.

[5] Cape Coast has the normal variant of /i/ in /ebi'ásã/, and the same is regular in Mr. Nkrumah's speech.

seems extremely likely that these are forms from another dialect; they are therefore analyzed as /te/ for the time being.

4.13. The sequences /u'e, ue/ represent, respectively, long [ö, ɔ̈]. They occur only in /ku'ér/ 'weigh' and /suér/ 'arise'.

4.14. The phoneme /u/ has the variant [i] in the one form /owúì'/ 'he died'; compare /waáwù'/ 'he has died, they have died' and /wu'/ 'to die'. The writing of /u/ in this case is mandatory because /w/ has its normal variant, not the palatalized variant which occurs regularly before /i/.

5.0. The determination of phonemic junctures is not completely clear, but many essential distinctions are stated in this section. There are three reasons for the inadequacy of this statement at present. First, the amount of material recorded limits the number of pertinent examples of the more difficult cases, to say nothing of the questions of accuracy in recording that arise. Second, there is in the nature of the case a comparatively small number of cases where juncture is the only phonemic contrast in a pair. Third, even the best informant may say that two things are the same when they are different, or different when they are the same, particularly in this type of material.[6] Two general facts are clear: a phonemic juncture may easily be set up in a vast number of cases on grounds such as the difference between /bá-nu/ (see 3.4 above) 'the child' and /bán/ 'a wall'; on the other hand, there are at least some dubious cases, such as /mitina así/ 'I live down below' and /miti-nu así/ 'I understand him'. Mr. Mbura says that the latter two forms are identical in sound; however, the former is suspect because it was elicited under very artificial circumstances and is not a common expression. In the case of /kã-nu/ 'touch it' and /kan/ 'count', Mr. Mbura also says that the two are the same in rapid speech, but in this case it is safe to distinguish them at least on the basis of the slower form of the first, which has the normal rather than zero variant of the final vowel.

It must also be pointed out that the establishment of phonemic junctures is independent of any considerations as to morpheme boundaries. The statements that follow have to do only with the phonemic interpretation of phonetic data. The choice of one interpretation over another, of calling something a juncture rather than, for example, setting up a whole new series of vowels, may have been suggested by knowledge of the morpheme boundaries; but it is not a true phonemic analysis unless it can also be justified on purely phonemic grounds. The fact that most if not all of the junctures established occur at morpheme boundaries is a fortunate, and indeed probably reasonable, coincidence; however, it does not make or break the analysis as such. As a matter of fact, many morpheme boundaries are not phonemically marked according to the following statements; the form /mirihwihwé/ 'I am looking for, I want' contains four morphemes, but is no different juncturally from /mbírikisi'/ 'thicket', which contains two so far as is known, or from /furáṅká/ 'flag', which certainly contains only one. On the

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[6] This is, of course, no reflection on any informant for any language; many a trained linguist has raised his eyebrows the first time the junctural distinction was pointed out between the second and last words in the sentence *Your highness [height] astounds me, Your Highness.*

other hand, /akire-su'a/ 'dates' contains an open juncture, but it is by no means certain that the juncture represents a morpheme boundary; neither part of the word is known with any related meaning in other forms or alone.

In spite of the fact that the following statements probably do not cover all cases which are written with juncture in this description, the statements are known to be accurate and to cover all contrasts in the materials at hand. If there are cases in which a juncture (it will always be space) is written without stated criteria, it seems likely that a statement can be worked out on the basis of fuller evidence. However, for practical purposes, since such junctures will always parallel morpheme boundaries, it may be pointed out that, in learning Fanti and most other languages, the recognition of morphemes proceeds more rapidly than the recognition of the minute phonetic details that may possibly be present to establish junctures in such cases; accordingly the writing of junctures, even as a morphophonemic device, is safe for practical purposes, particularly in the light of the fact that no phonemic pairs have been recorded in these cases. For the time being then, such junctures are written arbitrarily but without apology. A final decision as to the phonemic situation must await a much more thorough and comprehensive study of the language, a study with many more than the two available informants in this country, and preferably a study on the field.

5.1. Stop /./ and pause /,/ are phonetically self-defined and audibly different as silences of different lengths. The segment of an utterance between two of either of these phonemes is also marked by a contour of descending pitch applied to the high and middle tones in the segment. This contour in itself is not distinctive, however. There is no special contour for interrogative sentences; they are easily distinguished by the presence of an interrogative word or the final interrogative element / ⋕ a/, and it is a matter of indifference whether a question mark be used besides. A question mark might help the learner to remember certain forms, but on the other hand it might contribute to a tendency to use a rising intonation, when as a matter of fact Fanti questions ending in / ⋕ a/ have a falling intonation. Other punctuation marks might also be used for syntactic reasons, but only /./ and /,/ are phonemically established.

5.2. Break, written as space, is occasionally determined by an even shorter silence, a momentary stop, and occasionally also by a glottal stop. This phonetic break and glottal stop are used rather more commonly, and freely, in slower speech; they are rare in rapid speech, but occur occasionally even there.

5.3. However, the most common criterion for establishing break is the tonal context. Except as noted in 5.7 and 5.8 below, only one series of high tones occurs between two breaks. Each tone of one series is of the same level. A second series of high tones is lower than the first, but can still be distinguished from mid tone because the first high tone of a series is stressed, while a mid tone is never stressed. Accordingly, every series of high tones after the first is immediately preceded by break (space), unless it follows a series of low tones which on other criteria as stated below is preceded but not followed by break. The positive part of this statement covers cases such as /'... ⋕'.../; the reservation leaves for statements to follow cases such as /'... ... ⋕'.../ and /'... ⋕ ... ⋕'.../

and /'... ⚹ ...'.../. E.g., /oní'm̃ sankṹ' bó/ 'he knows how to play the organ'; compare /ope sankṹ'-bó/ 'he likes organ playing', and the high-mid sequence in /dénkêm/ 'crocodile'.

5.4. Break is sometimes determined only by stress; an alternative possibility would be to consider stress phonemic, but the free use of a momentary pause in slower speech makes the analysis of stress as a determiner of juncture preferable, to say nothing of the morphemic consideration that morpheme boundaries are always present. Break occurs in such an analysis between a syllable with high tone and a stressed syllable with low tone, in contrast with close juncture between a syllable with high tone and and unstressed syllable with low tone. E.g., /ńde da/ 'yesterday'; compare /miríbà/ 'I am coming'. Break by this criterion always occurs before the interrogative particle /a/.

5.5. Break is determined by stress also between a syllable with low tone and a syllable with high tone. If the first syllable, with low tone, has zero stress, it is followed by break; if it has a stress (weaker than that of the following high tone, but not zero), it is followed by close juncture. This statement probably covers more cases of break than any other statement; the presence of the weaker stress as opposed to zero stress is hard to hear except in cases of minimal contrast, but at present the criterion seems to be universally valid. E.g., /bo dám/ 'go crazy' is phonetically [bɔ'dám], while /bodóm/ 'dog' is phonetically [ˌbɔ'dɔ́m]. Here is a case where knowledge of morpheme boundaries may determine the choice of analyses. One might normally expect the analysis to be the reverse, close juncture after zero stress and open juncture or break after secondary stress, as in English. The unexpected analysis is preferable in Fanti in the light of morphemic considerations; but the fact that a junctural analysis is called for is determined purely by phonetic data.

5.6. Open juncture occurs before final /mi, wu, nu, mu'/ according to the criteria stated above in 3.4 for rapid speech; they represent vocalic /m, w, n/, preceded by a consonant or by the normal unshortened and non-nasalized or phonemically nasalized alternants of vowels. In slower speech these four syllables and also /hen, hum, hon/ are preceded by open juncture on criteria basically the same as those used to establish break in 5.5 above; they are either low tone and stressed, or, in the case of /-mu'/, sometimes high tone but lower than a preceding high series. Morphemically, all of these except /-mu'/ are personal pronouns. E.g.,

idán-nu	the house
kã-nu	touch it; compare /kan/ 'count', which may be identical in rapid speech.
bá-nu	the child; compare /bán/ 'wall', which is never the same.
mídò-wu	I love you; compare /mídòw/ 'I plow'.

5.7. Open juncture occurs after initial /mí, wú, nú, hén, húm, hón/ when they are stressed and when a stress occurs after them. These are the only initial syllables that occur in this environment; they were not chosen out of many

possibilities for morphemic reasons. /mí/ is the only one which also occurs stressed without a following stress. E.g.,

mí-dán	my house	mí-wòfa	my uncle
wú-tí'r	your head	wú-hunám-mù' é	how are you?
hén-kàsá	our language	But núhũ	himself (one stress)

There are no cases of complete minimal contrast to illustrate this juncture, but the following forms have only one stress also: /mídò/ 'I love', /okásà/ 'he speaks'. Morphologically, this statement indicates that all but a very few nominal forms with pronouns have a juncture, while verbal forms with pronouns never do.

5.8. Open juncture occurs between two occurrences of the same vowel medially, if the first vowel is preceded by initial /m, n, w/ and if both vowels have the same tone with the second stressed; if other consonants precede, break occurs.[7] This statement excludes forms in which the two vowels have different tones, or in which the first is stressed. E.g.,

má-awúfu	my parents	mbá ahín	how many children?
wá-agi'á	your father	mitina así	I live down below

Forms such as the following are not included in this statement: /nkáa/ 'debt', /nkáá/ 'remembrance', /maági'à/ 'I have left'. Morphologically, as in 5.7 above, nominal forms with pronouns have juncture, while verbal forms do not.

5.9. Open juncture occurs between consonants that are not homorganic, unless tonal considerations stated in 5.3 above demand a break; in slow speech and sometimes even in rapid speech a release of breath occurs at the point of juncture. E.g.,

ahum-gwií	peace	ahum-kã́	happiness
ani'm-gu'-ási	shame	eni'm-ni'ám	glory

5.10. Open juncture occurs in segments between two breaks at the point where the influence of /'/ is interrupted (see 6.1 below). E.g.,

awire-fí'	forgetfulness	eni'm-gu'-ási	shame
aka-tú'a	reward, pay	sankũ'-bó	organ playing
akire-sú'a	dates (here there is no known morpheme boundary at

the point of phonemic juncture).

6.0. The suprasegmental phonemes must be described as to their phonetic nature and their range of influence.

6.1. Heightening of vowels, /'/, is written after the last /i/ or /u/ in the series it influences. The variants of vowels under its influence have been described in 4.2 above. The phoneme is established as an analysis of certain phonetic data to cover a type of vowel harmony which is characteristic of Fanti. All the vowels within certain limits belong to either the high series of vowels, [i, e, o, u]

[7] This is a case in which the morphemic consideration has determined the choice of open juncture in some cases and break in others, on the basis of the same data; however, the phonemic contrast is present between the two in terms of the preceding consonants.

and [a] only after [i, u], or the low series of vowels, [ɪ, ε, ɔ, ʊ] and [a] with no limitations. All of the low vowels occur as the only vowel in an utterance, but of the high vowels only [i, u] occur as the only vowel, with the exception of rare cases of [e, o, a]. The low series of vowels is phonemically analyzed as /i, e, o, u, a/; the high series is analyzed as the same vowels with /'/, and /'/ is written after the last 'i' or /u/ of the series; the rare cases of [e, o, a] as the only vowel in an utterance but of the high series are analyzed as /i'e, u'o, i'a/, usually with other reasons contributing to the analysis (see 4.2 above). This description of vowel harmony makes it possible to write the same morpheme in the same way even when it has different phonetic forms. E.g., /ósì'/ 'he builds' and /ósì/ 'he says', where 'he' is phonetically [o] in the first case and [ɔ] in the second. This analysis also obviates a special statement as to the high series in forms such as /ókwi'à/ 'he cuts', where, phonetically, [o] precedes [a] in contrast with the normal [ɔ] before [a] as in /ódà/ 'he sleeps'. The range of influence of /'/ is covered in the two following statements:

All vowels after /'/ to the next juncture are under its influence. E.g.

<blockquote>
ki'etéké   train   abibi'-fú   negroes (as a group)
</blockquote>

All vowels before/'/ to the preceding juncture, and also a final vowel (or sometimes a vowel followed by a final consonant) just preceding the last break or open juncture, are under its influence.

mpapaa-mú'	chapters, divisions (Notice, the first /a/ is [a] here, while /aa/ is [e·].)
ódò-mú'	he is out ([ɔ..o..u])
ósì'-mú'	he sets out ([o..i..u])
ósì-mú'	([ɔ..i..u]) (a hypothetical case elicited from Mr. Mbura to show the contrast in a minimal pair; he had no hesitation about the pronunciation).
ókò fì'e	he goes home ([ɔ..o..ie])
mburá-nì'	lawyer ([ʊ..e..i])
ipufú-nì'	fisherman ([ɪ..ʊ..u..i])

ofì· mbírikisi' ko mbírikisi' from everlasting to everlasting (archaic; all high).

These cases illustrate also the necessity of analyzing a vocalic /m/ in rapid speech as /mu'/, even apart from the fact that the slower variant is just that.

6.2. Nasalization, /~/, is self-explanatory as far as its phonetic character is concerned. Its range is a single vowel or two adjacent vowels; in the latter case the symbol is written over the second. It is always final.

6.3. Tones, written as described in 1.2 above, are relative in their precise levels; low tone, however, is always at the pitch at which a maximum comfortable relaxation of the vocal cords is possible for the individual speaker. Even in single isolated sounds, there is a clear difference between high and low tones; most

utterances of one syllable, especially when citations, are of high tone. There is no coordination between the actual pitch level and the particular vowel with which the tone occurs; however, in citing a list of forms of one syllable with vowels in the sequence /i', i, 'e, e, a, o, 'o, u, u'/, both Mr. Nkrumah and Mr. Mbura did a striking performance of going first down and then up the scale. In minimal forms, the interval between a low tone and a high tone is normally about a musical fifth, and the interval between high and mid a minor third; e.g.,/odíhí/'nobleman, rich man' has pitch levels such as C-G-E. In longer sequences, the following statements apply:

All the tones in a series of the same phonemic level are also of the same absolute level, except for one instance noted below. E.g., /abirántie/ 'young man' has only two levels of pitch, low and high.

A second series of high tones in an utterance is slightly lower than the first, and each succeeding series is slightly lower than the one preceding it. E.g., /minní ntúmí' nnúm nsấ/ 'I won't be able to drink liquor' has four levels of non-low tones, all of which are phonemically high.

A mid tone within a succession of high tones is lower than the high tone following it. E.g. /dénkém kesí/ 'a large crocodile'.

In a series of nothing but low tones occuring in isolation or between breaks, the next to the last tone is slightly higher than the others. E.g. /wofa/ 'uncle', /pii'/ 'many, much', /bokoo/ 'slowly'; the first vowel of /wofa/ is higher in tone than the second, but not as high as the first vowel of /wófà/ 'they take', while both low tones have the same absolute level in /mí-wòfa/ 'my uncle'.

A phonemically low vowel after a break is freely, and after an open juncture preceded by a single syllable (see 5.7–8 above) is always, of the same level as a high tone immediately preceding; this level is higher than that of a following phonemically high tone. E.g., the vowels after junctures in the following cases: /mbá ahín/ 'how many children?', /edú' enú'm/ 'fifteen', /má-awúfu/ 'my parents', /mí-mbá/ 'my children'.

In 5.4, 5.5, 5.7, 5.8 above, stress was used as a criterion for determining junctures. In other cases, stress is automatically determined by tone. Except as noted in those sections, stress occurs with the following tones:

The first high tone of a series of one or more, except that initial /mi, i, o, ye, hum, wo/ are unstressed when they are the first of a series of two or more high tones. E.g., /aburéntie/ 'young man', /dónkuroon/ 'deep'; but stress on the second syllable in /míbaà-nú/ 'when I came'. This exception is confined morphologically to verbal forms only of this type.

The first low tone of an initial series of two or more, and an initial single low tone except on an initial vowel. E.g., /mankaí/ '(a kind of) yam', /iwu'rá/ 'dirt, sweepings', /hemá/ 'canoe'; but not in /idán/ 'house'. The stress in these cases is of a lesser degree than that on a first high tone.

The second low tone of a series of low tones preceded by a high tone. The stress here may be even weaker. E.g., /mí-wòfa/ 'my uncle', has a weak stress on the last vowel.

In general, the actual volume of stressed vowels appears to decrease throughout

an utterance as does the pitch of high tones.   Notice also that mid tones always have zero stress, except that a mid tone following a low tone has a weak stress, as does a second low tone; e.g., /búùkú'/ 'book'.

7.0. The following are some of the more significant features of the distribution of phonemes within an utterance, apart from the adequate statements already made about tones and /'/.

7.1. The distribution of /~/ is as follows:

/~/ occurs only with /a, i, u/.

/~/ occurs only after voiceless consonants.

/~/ occurs only finally, i.e., before a break, pause, or stop, or open juncture, not before consonants.

The fact that /~/ does not occur before consonants has certain interesting implications.   The only final consonants are /m, n, w, r/.   It would therefore be possible to interpret /m, n/ as nasalized /w, r/, or better still, to write nasalization with vowels before /w, r/ and say that the consonants equal [m, n] in this position. This could be extended to all occurrences of /m, n/; initially before vowels the following vowel could be written as nasalized, and initially before consonants the phoneme /~/ is sufficient with no distinction as to articulatory position, since /m, n/ are neutralized in that position.   By such an analysis, /m, n/ could be entirely eliminated as phonemes.

7.2. As just pointed out, /m, n/ occur in complementary distribution before consonants in close juncture; /m/ occurs only before /p, b, m/, and /n/ occurs before all other consonants.   Apart from the analysis suggested above, by which both would be written in this position simply as /~/, it is possible in any case to write either /m/ or /n/ for all pre-consonantal occurrences.   The choice of writing used has been determined only by considerations of the phonetic character of the phonemes.

7.3. The only phonemes that occur in final position are /m, n, w, r/ and the vowels.   Medially, only /m, n/ occur before other consonant phonemes, but neither occurs before /r/.

7.4. /kw, gw, hw, y/ have limited distribution.   /hw/ occurs only before /i, e/; /kw, y/ occur before /i, e, a/; /gw/ occurs before /i, e, a, u/.

7.5. The phoneme /r/ never occurs initially, i.e., after a pause or stop. It does occur after a break within an utterance, but only in the combination /ri/, which is a morpheme indicating continuous action in present time or action just about to take place.

7.6. On the basis of evidence not yet adequately studied, it seems possible that, by a complicated statement involving tone and juncture, /r/ and /y/ may turn out to be in complementary distribution with each other.   This would make an even neater picture of the phoneme list and certain distributional phenomena.

7.7. The phonemic structure of all utterances can be summarized in a formula; however, the formula would be complicated, and the phonemic structure of individual morphemes is a more noteworthy feature of the language; this will be described in Chapter II, 3.0–3.

8.0. The standard orthography of Fanti used in the Gold Coast differs in many important respects from the phonemic orthography established in this chapter. Fanti has been a written language for perhaps a century. By about 1870 the orthography had been pretty well standardized, and was used in publications and grammars. Along with many other African languages, Fanti was given a new, reformed orthography in the late 1920's, largely through the instrumentality of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures (now the International African Institute) and its representative Professor D. Westermann. The new orthography differs from the old primarily in the writing of vowels. This "new script" or "phonetic script", as it is commonly called in the Gold Coast, is now used generally in schools and publications. It will be compared with the phonemic orthography of this description in the following sections, with a few parenthetical notes about the old orthography, and a few historical and dialectical observations. The comparison is not complete in every detail; no intensive study of either the old or the new orthography has been made; but sufficient comparison is made to make it possible to use either orthography with little difficulty.

8.1. Tones have never been consistently written in either accepted orthography. Tone marks are occasionally found in works written by Europeans about the language, but these works all attempt an explanation of their own tone marks, which are apparently as unsatisfactory as those used in this grammar. The recent *Grammar of the Fante-Akan Language*, by W. T. Balmer and F. C. F. Grant (London, 1929), gives essentially the same system of tone writing as that described above in 1.2 above and used herein, with one minor difference, that a low tone with stress before a high tone (see 6.3 above) is marked with /'/ This system was arrived at independently for the present grammar, but was one of two alternative systems for a time; the choice between the two was made after finding the same system in Balmer and Grant, in order that there might be at least some recognizable contact between this analysis and previous work on the language. However, after a very brief section in which the tone system is explained and a few examples of tonal contrasts are given, Balmer and Grant do not mark tones in the rest of the grammar except in a few isolated cases, mostly paradigms. Since many tone patterns within segments between two breaks are syntactically determined, this is not too serious for practical purposes for a native speaker of the language. In addition, many sequences of segmental phonemes occur with only one tone pattern, so that the tone pattern is easily recognizable from the segmental phonemes to one who knows the language. However, such omissions are not faithful to the phonemic situation, and, even with the help of lists of syntactic forms with well-defined tone patterns, there are many forms whose tones are not syntactically but only lexically determined, and such at the very least ought to be written.

8.2. Consonants are written with some subphonemic distinctions, particularly for the palatalized alternants. The following table compares the two native orthographies with the phonemic analysis:

PHONEME	NORMAL VARIANT	PALATALIZED VARIANT (IF DIFFERENTLY WRITTEN)
p	p	
t	t	ts
k	k	ky
b	b	
d	d	dz (Old script: ds)
g	g	gy
f	f	
s	s	
h	h	hy
w	w	(Old script sometimes: w̆)
r	r	
y	y	
m	m	
n	n	ny (also for phonemic /ny/)
kw	kw	tw
gw	—	dw
hw	—	hw (Old script sometimes: fw)

This orthography gives some hints as to the probable historical development of the palatalized variants of consonants. Those for which no special digraphs or other symbols are used are apparently of most recent origin. They are also precisely the ones which did not occur in the speech of Mr. Nkrumah, indicating that they probably do not occur even now in some dialects (including probably Cape Coast, which seems to be the primary element in Mr. Nkrumah's speech). However, they are attested from other brief phonetic sketches of Fanti, as the one in Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages, by Westermann and Ward (London, 1933), p. 176 (for /p/ only, and including one dubious example of an exception); Balmer and Grant apparently refer to the same phenomenon as "aspiration" (p. 13 of their Grammar).

The use of *ky, gy, hy* probably represents a historical situation in which, at the time the writing system was developed, the digraphs represented actually palatalized [k, g, h]. That this development is comparatively recent is attested also by the fact that Christaller, who wrote a grammar and a dictionary of Fanti in the 1870's, enters the form *twa* (phonemically /kwi'a/ as being "originally *kwia*", thus explaining the fact of its violation of the normal rules for vowel harmony.

Twi, a language very closely related to Fanti, if not another dialect of the same language, still has [t] and [d] before all vowels; probably the development of the palatalized (in this case affricated) variants of /t, d/ is also comparatively recent for Fanti, though it goes back at least to 1870.

All of these facts actually help to corroborate the essential validity of the above analysis. Whether a phonemic writing as suggested above is the most practical orthography to use, either for learners of the language or even for native speakers, is another question. In the case of the consonants, a little practice with the

phonemic orthography has shown it to be quite practical. The phonemic writing of the vowels is subject to more question.

8.3. Vowels are not written phonemically in the new orthography, nor does the writing do justice to the facts of vowel harmony. Both Mr. Nkrumah and Mr. Mbura recognize the weakness of the vowel system. The actual ambiguities of the new orthography are few, because the cases in which two phonemes are written with the same symbol happen to be such that possible confusion is rare; however, knowledge of the vowel harmony and in some cases of lexical materials is necessary to the proper use of the orthography. The old script, on the other hand, used only five symbols, but sometimes made use of diacritics; however, native speakers of Fanti did not write the diacritics regularly, and they proved to be a nuisance from practical angles, though the use of them resulted in a phonemic writing. Vowels with zero variants are never written except in the case of /mu'/; there are therefore forms such as *twa, gya, nya, nyam* which violate the otherwise regular principles of vowel harmony. The following table compares the three systems of vowel writing:

PHONEME	NEW SCRIPT	OLD SCRIPT (1870)	OLD SCRIPT (1910)
i'	*i*	*i*	*i̧*
i	*e*	*e* or *ȩ*	*i*
'e	*e*	*e*	*ȩ*
e	*ε*	*e* or *e̱*	*e*
a	*a*	*a*	*a*
o	*ɔ*	*o* or *o̱*	*o*
'o	*o*	*o*	*o̧*
u	*o*	*o* or *o̧*	*u*
u'	*u*	*u*	*u̧*

8.4. Nasalization is not consistently written in any of the native orthographies. It is usually assumed where lexically determined, and sometimes written after or before /m, n/ where it is non-phonemic. In recent years, however, there appears to be a more regular use of the symbol for all phonemic cases, though some of the non-phonemic cases remain.

8.5. Junctures. No hyphens are used in the native orthographies, but in other respects the writing of junctures is much the same as that described in 5.0–10 above. Pronouns before vowels are written as *m', w', n',* instead of using the following vowel after the consonant; the combinations result in long vowels, so that two vowels are phonemically present.

8.6. There are a few other miscellaneous differences in spelling which need not be considered here. Perhaps some of them represent forms from different dialects. E.g., *ntam* 'oath' or 'garments' and *ntεm* 'quickly' are phonemically distinct in Cape Coast, but both are /ntâm/ in Anumabo.

II. THE MORPHEMES

0. The description of the morphemes of Fanti, the smallest sequences of phonemes to which meaning can be assigned, will consist of three parts: first, a study of morpheme alternants and their analysis as members of morpheme units; second, the classification of all the morphemes into morpheme classes on the basis of their distribution in relation to each other; and third, a statement of the phonemic structure of morphemes.

1.0. The primary subject of this section is the positional alternation of morphemes, or, roughly speaking, morphophonemics. However, there are also a few pairs of free morpheme alternants that deserve mention. The two members of each pair of morpheme alternants have the same meaning, and occur in the same, not complementary, environments. They are therefore essentially different morpheme units, or synonyms; however, their close similarity to each other, and the fact that the differences between them follow certain patterns in some cases, makes it preferable to refer to them as "free morpheme alternants". It is possible that the alternants may represent some dialectical variation, but there is at present no way of ascertaining that fact with any certainty. In each case the two members of the pair are probably historically identical. All recorded cases of free morpheme alternants will be noted in a list of lexical elements;[8] some typical cases are as follows:

wúma	and	*múwa*	leather, book, learning
ńti'r	and	*ńti'*	reason, source (cf. *iti'r* head)
abén	and	*amén*	horn
íbán	and	*ímán*	herring
kurá	and	*gwirá*	drinking calabash
sídèr	and	*sídà* or sometimes *sírà* (in fast speech) shilling

If two or more sequences of phonemes having the same meaning occur in complementary environments, they are positional alternants of one morpheme unit. In some cases, the phonemic differences apply to every occurrence of a given phonemic pattern; these illustrate a regular phonological alternation between phonemes. In other cases, the phonemic differences apply to only some occurrences of a given phonemic pattern; these illustrate true morphophonemic alternation. In still other cases, the phonemic differences apply to only one case; these illustrate morpholexical alternation between phonemes, or, if the alternants are not phonemically similar, they are cases of suppletion. In the following sections, all known cases of regular phonological alternation are given, and they apply regularly to all comparable cases. All known types of morphophonemic alternation are also listed, but the illustrations given do not exhaust the lists of

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[8] The list of lexical elements referred to here and elsewhere in these pages is still in manuscript. It was originally intended as an appendix to the present work; the decision to withhold it is based on the hope that it may be published separately in the not-too-distant future, in a more complete and useful form than the present version.

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cases to which each alternation applies; additional cases are noted in the list of lexical elements. The cases of morpholexical alternation and suppletion are presumably complete. Morpheme units, apart from alternant forms, are cited in braces {...}.

1.1. /n/ and /m/ as the final or only phoneme in a morpheme alternate regularly before close juncture and a following consonant, but do not alternate before open juncture; /m/ occurs before /p, b, m/, /n/ before all other consonants. E.g.,

mbá	children	ma ómba	let him come
ntá	twins	ma ónko	let him go
mimpé-nù	I don't like it	But ahum-gwiì	peace
mintì-nù	I don't hear it	ntêm-tem	quickly

1.2. Final /e/ has the alternant /a/ before open juncture or break followed by /'/, when the preceding consonant is /t, d, s/. In the cases of other consonants preceding, /e/ remains phonemically as determined by the palatalized alternant of the consonant. After these three consonants, whose palatalized variants do not occur before /e/, the sound [e] in this position must be analyzed as /a/ (see Chapter I, 4.2). There are very few statistical possibilities of this alternation, but two adequate illustrations are:

opétá yì'   this vulture
opétá-mú'   in a vulture. Both from {o-pété} 'vulture'.

1.3. Final /a/ usually has the alternant /o/ before open juncture followed by /mu'/, when the preceding consonant is /kw/ or /w/, or when the preceding vowel is /u/; the alternation sometimes occurs after /f/, and occasionally after /p, b, m/. E.g.,

kwó-mù' or sometimes kwá-mù' the bush country. From {kwá} 'farm'.
fó-mù' but usually fá-mù' on the ground, down. From *{fá} 'clay'.
mpapaa-mú' chapters, divisions. From {paa} 'split, divide'.

1.4. Morphemes which end in /w, r, m/ have alternants with /i/ added before /nì'/ or /-nì'/. E.g.,

ofarì-nì' fisherman. From {far} 'fishermen's quarter (of a town)'.
niamisúmi-nì' servant of God. From {niamì} 'God' plus {sum} 'serve'.
But owén-nì' guide. From {wen} 'to guard'.

1.5. The tones of stem morphemes (see 3.1–2 below) all become low before close or open juncture followed by another stem; i.e., when the stem is the first element of a compound. E.g.,

beenku'm-nán	the left foot.	Cf. beenkú'm 'left'.
denkembú	diamond.	Cf. dénkém 'crocodile'.
fantìkásá	the Fanti language.	Cf fantì 'Fanti'.
nkati-nkwán	peanut soup.	Cf. nkatì 'peanuts'.

This statement does not apply, however, when the second stem is {*di*} 'a thing' or {*bá*} 'child, young, small'.   In such cases the tone of a preceding stem usually, but not always, remains the same.   E.g.,

akiréw-di	writing implement.	Cf. *kiréw* 'write'.
iku'róba	village.	Cf. *iku'ró* 'city'.
But *siradí*	ointment, oil.	Cf. *sirá* 'rub on ointment'.

1.6. Nasalization drops before close or open juncture, except before final pronouns and /-*mu'*/.   E.g.,

nsaáfu'	palm wine.	Cf. *nsá̃* 'liquor' and *afú'* 'white'.
akuhén	navy.	Cf. *kũ* 'fight' and *hén* 'ship'.
ni'ansa-nsém	wise sayings.	Cf. *ni'ánsá̃* 'wisdom'.

But *mihũ̀-wu*   I see you.

1.7. Final /*ew, ow*/ have the alternant /*o*/ before close juncture followed by /*i*/.   E.g.,

akiroí	writing, writings.	Cf. *kiréw* 'write'.
furoí	a stew.	Cf. *furów* 'make a stew'.

1.8. The tone sequence high-mid has the alternant low-high, and the tone sequence high-low has the alternant low-low in all morphemes when they occur after a prefixed pronoun with high tone (see 1.16 below).   E.g.,

hén-kàsá	our language.	Cf. *kásá* 'language'.
mí-sìkán	my knife.	Cf. *síkán* 'knife'.
ná-awù'ra	his master.	Cf. *a-wú'rà* 'master, Mr., sir'.

1.9. The /*w*/ of final /*ow*/ drops in some cases before open juncture.   E.g.,

apó-mù'   (in) the joints.   Cf. *pów* 'knot, joint'.

1.10. Final /*r*/ in some morphemes only drops before open juncture.   E.g.,

ayifár	dowry.	Cf. *yiŕ* 'wife'.
osófú	priest, minister.	Cf. *sor* 'pray'.
But *afar-fú*	fishermen.	Cf. *fár* 'fishermen's quarter (of town)'.

1.11. Final /*r*/ in at least two cases and final /*n*/ in at least one case occur only when the morphemes to which they belong occur in combination with other morphemes.   E.g.,

mikori	I went.	Cf. *ko* 'go'.
mikori hó	I went there.	
mihúnì'-nu	I saw him.	Cf. *hũ'* 'see'.
kikír	tie up.	Cf. *ki* 'catch'.
ayifár	dowry.	Cf. *yiŕ* 'wife' plus *fa* 'take'.

1.12. Three morphemes used as verbal prefixes (see 2.8 below) have different alternants before different vowels following the next consonant.   Of these three morphemes, the forms {*ko*} 'go' and {*fa*} 'take' are used in other environments

as well. It is possible that the third set of alternants corresponds to {ba} 'come' in other environments, and in slow speech [ba] is occasionally heard for [bɛ] in one alternant of the verbal prefix; but as a verbal prefix the meaning is that of future time. The alternants of these morphemes before the various vowels are as follows:

> Before /w, kw,gw, hw/ followed by any vowel: /bo, ko, fo/.
>   Otherwise:
> Before /i'/ or /a...'/:   /ba, ka, fa/
> Before /i, e/:   /be, ke, fe/ (sometimes /fa/)
> Before /a/:   /be, ke, fa/
> Before /o, u/ or /u', o...'/:   /bo, ko, fo/ (sometimes /fa/)

It will be noted that the palatalized variants of the consonants do not occur before /e/ in these cases. E.g.,

> *mirikádì' gu'á*   I'm going shopping
> *obéyè agwú'ma*   he will work
> *mibóhwì-wu*   I'll beat you up
> *orikédà*   he's going to lie down *or* he's going to sleep
> *mirikótò adi'bán*   I'm going to buy some food.

1.13. {wo} 'be located at, have' has the alternant /nì/ after the negative prefix /n/ (see **2.8** below). E.g.,

miwo há	I'm here.	*onnì hó*	he isn't there.
miwo búùkú'-nu	I have the book.	*minnì bì'*	I don't have any.

1.14. {ba} 'come' has the alternant /bura/ in the imperative and cohortative forms, i.e., when no noun or pronoun precedes, or when the cohortative prefix (ṅ) (see **2.8** below) does precede. E.g.,

orìbà há	he's coming.	*bura há*	come here!
wobaa há ṅde da	they came yesterday.	*ma wómbura*	let them come.

1.15. Several forms, the commonest of which is {agwú'ma} 'work, labor', are obviously related to other forms which show some similarity. However, certain differences in meaning exist in some of these forms, and it seems that an added morpheme must be looked for in them. Since these forms are few, and the precise differences in meaning not well defined, it is economical to consider and list them as separate morphemes.[9] Note, however, the apparent relationship between the following forms:

agwú'ma	work	*agwu'ma-fú*	laborers
agwi'n	the arts and crafts	*agwi'n-fú*	craftsmen

1.16. The pronoun morphemes have one set of alternants before verb stems (see **2.1** below), and a second set in other positions, which include after verb

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[9] A comparable analysis in English concerns the forms *stink* and *stench*, *drink* and *drench*. Though there is a morphemic relationship, a simple listing is more economical than a complicated discussion; for that matter, compare also *wink* and *wench*.

stems, before noun stems, and after nominal prefixes. All of the alternants which end in a vowel before a consonant must also be compared with alternants before close or open juncture followed by a vowel; in this case, the final vowel of the pronoun morpheme is the same as the following vowel, which is /a/ in all but a very few cases. In the following list of alternants, the assumption is made that a following vowel is /a/; such forms are listed second.

Pronoun	Before Verb Stems		Elsewhere	
1 sing.	*mi*	*ma*	*mi*	*ma*
2 sing.	*i*	*a*	*wu*	*wa*
3 sing.	*o*	*wa*	*nu*	*na*
1 plur.	*ye*	*ya*	*hen*	
2 plur.	*hum*		*hum*	
3 plur.	*wo*	*wa*	*hon*	

Nothing is said about tones in the above list. The forms before verb stems usually have high tone immediately before a one-syllable verb stem with no other prefixes and no suffix; elsewhere they have low tone, with exceptions as noted in 3.2. below. It will be noted also that the forms of the third person singular and plural before a vowel followed by verb stem are identical. It should be noted also that the second person plural pronoun is not very commonly used. In most contexts, either the speaker is included and the first person plural is used, or both the speaker and the listener are excluded and the third person plural is used. The second person does exist for certain specific occasions, but does not occur with the same frequency and under all of the same circumstances as it does in many languages. Examples of these alternants of pronouns are as follows:

iti-mi así a	Do you understand me?
miti-wu así	I understand you.
má-agi'á nú-ponkó	my father's horse.
owo hó	He is there *or* She is there *or* It is there.
ma yénko	Let's go.
waákò	He has gone *or* She has gone *or* It has gone *or* They have gone.
woríyè ìbèn adì	What are they doing? *or* What are you doing?
na humádìdí a	Have you eaten?
owo dán-nu nú-mù'	He is in the house (He is at the house its inside).
hón-kàsá onyé dìn kuraa	Their language isn't difficult at all.
ìmi á	It's me.
ìwu wo hín	Where are *you*?
ónu wo há	*He*'s here. *or* *She*'s here. *or* *That* one is here.
ìhen	We, us.
ìhum	You (*pl.*)
óhon	They, them.

1.17. A suffix which forms the past tense of verbs has different alternants for verb stems of different phonemic pattern, and different alternants when in

utterance-final and when not in utterance-final position.   The phonemic struc-
ture of verbs stems is discussed below in 3.1; for the present the only distinction
that need be made is between verbs whose stems have the tone pattern low-high
and all other verbs.   After the latter, this morpheme consists of the addition of
/i/ to the stem in utterance-final position.   In utterance-medial position, it
consists of the repetition of the final vowel of a stem which ends in a vowel, or in
the addition of /i/ to a stem which ends in a consonant; in the latter case, as
stated in Chapter I, 3.3, the final consonant plus vowel represent a vocalic
/w, r, m, n/ in rapid speech.   In addition, the added vowel has low tone, and the
last vowel of the stem has high tone, except in the case of {ba} 'come' and {ko}
'go', where the whole form has low tone.   After verbs whose stems have the
tone pattern low-high, this morpheme consists of the addition of /i/ to the stem
when it is in utterance final position; in utterance medial position nothing is
added.   With such stems, the low-high pattern of the stem changes to high-low,
and the added vowel in utterance final position also has low tone.   Examples of
this morpheme in all its variants are as follows:

Utterance-final		Utterance-medial	
midǎ̀	I slept	*midǎ́à ndonhwír adú'*	I slept ten hours.
mìbaì	I came	*mìbaa há*	I came here.
okorì	he went	*okorì hó*	he went there.
okasǎ̀	he spoke	*okasǎ́à fantì*	he spoke Fanti.
miwárì	I got married	*owárì má-akiréba*	he married my sister.
onantìwì	he walked	*onantìwì ko fí'e*	he walked home.
mifúndì	I got tired	*mifúnà ntém-tem*	I got tired quickly.

The stems in the above illustrations, with their normal tone patterns, are /da,
ba, ko, kásà, waŕ, nántìw, funá/.

1.18. A suffix which seems to indicate the time, place, or circumstances under
which something happens, or occasionally an object described by the other
morphemes in the form, consists in most cases of the addition of /i/ to a stem,
with high tone; but it sometimes has the alternant of the final vowel of the stem
instead of /i/.   Preceding tones are all low.   E.g.

ahen-gi'na-ì	sea-port, air-port (ship-stop-place)
ki'eteke-gi'na-ì	railroad station
adihurìí	laundry (things-wash-place)
abugwìí	calm, contentment (heart-calm-circumstances)
adikikirí	bandages (things-tied-things)
ati'r-dìí'	malaria (head-consuming-circumstances)
adikìí̃	morning (things-lighten-time)
adisaã̀	evening (things-darken-time)
nyeé	doings (do-things)

This morpheme is not common, but it occurs in some technical terms of
comparatively recent cultural origin; it is a living formation, and new forms
may be invented with it.   A similar phenomenon of a final long vowel with

rising tone occurs with some other words, usually seeming to add emphasis to the word; in still other cases a vowel is lengthened without rise of tone. This, however, does not seem to be a comparable morphological process, but merely a stylistic lengthening for emphasis. Thus the vowel of /pìi'/ 'many, much', which is always long, is sometimes lengthened almost indefinitely, especially in story-telling. Similarly /kokoo/ 'red', /bokoo/ 'slowly'.

1.19. A morpheme which nominalizes verb stems consists simply of a change of tone. Its alternants are not completely predictable on the grounds of phonemic structure of the stems, but certain statements can be made. For verbs whose stems have but one vowel, the tone change is from low to high. For verbs whose stems have two vowels with the tone pattern low-high, the tone change seems to be usually to high-high. For verbs whose stems have two vowels with the tone pattern high-low, the tone change seems to be usually to high-mid. Exceptions to these statements are listed in the lists of lexical elements at the end of the grammar. This is not a common morpheme, but the following examples suffice to describe it:

> odó   love; mí-dó my love; cf. mídò I love.
> dú'a   tree; cf. du'á to plant.
> kásá   language; hén-kàsá our language; cf. kásà to speak.

1.20. There are several forms of reduplication. With non-verbal stems reduplication is common, but in most cases the unreduplicated stem does not occur independently; the most common cases of this are in color terms. With verbal stems, reduplication may indicate intensive, repeated, habitual, continual, or causative action. A complete list of all known reduplicated forms is given in the lists of lexical elements at the end of the grammar. These show the following alternants; to some extent they are phonemically determined, but between two groups of alternants there is only lexical determination:

The initial consonant of the stem plus /i/, when the first stem vowel is /i, e, a/: /didí'/ 'eat, /hwihwé/ 'look for', /kíkà/ 'bite habitually, be vicious', /fìfì'r/ 'perspiration'.

The initial consonant of the stem plus /u/, when the first stem vowel is /o, u/: /huhúr/ 'wash', /fúfur/ 'new'.

The initial consonant of the stem plus /in/, when the first stem vowel is /i, e, a/ and is nasalized or followed by /m, n/: /kínkàn/ 'read', /tíntin/ 'long'.

The initial consonant of the stem plus /un/, when the first stem vowel is /o, u/ and is nasalized or followed by /m, n/: /túntu'm/ 'black'.

All of the above alternants occur in complementary environments, but not with the next, which is the initial consonant of the stem plus the first vowel of the stem; many cases of the above forms, which have /i/ or /u/ as the stem vowel, could also be assigned to this alternant; since they have already been listed, this includes only forms whose first stem vowel is /e, a, o/: /kákaa/ 'toothache', /totóòtór/ 'chicken pox'.

Also including some of the above forms, but others as well, is the alternant which consists of repetition of the entire stem: /siasi'é/ 'get ready', /ntém-tem/ 'quickly', /purompurom/ 'prosperous'.

There are also other cases of apparent reduplication, including some of medial or final reduplications. These do not fit into the above patterns, and in every case the unreduplicated form does not occur independently; in such cases of doubt, the lexical elements are listed in their occurring forms; possibilities of reduplication among them are obvious from their appearance. E.g. /fafurȧntá/ 'butterfly', /fìnfi'n/ 'chest, middle'; in connection with the former it may be pointed out, lest prejudice arise, that some other insect names do have normal reduplication, but again the stems are bound.

Reduplication must be distinguished from repetition, which contains a phonemic break, and in which the entire form is repeated, including prefixes. E.g., *ndiéma ndiéma* 'many things, things of all kinds, stuff and things'. Compare the cases of repetitive reduplication.

1.21. Triplication occurs in a few adjectival forms; in each case, the stem is monosyllabic, and the final phoneme of the second of the three occurrences of the stem is repeated. The tone is high throughout. E.g. /díndinndin/ 'terribly hard'; /tíntinntin/ 'awfully long'; /féfeefe/ 'gorgeous'; /dédeede/ 'sugar sweet'. The meaning is always intensive.

2.0. The morphemes of Fanti may be classified on the basis of their distribution in relation to other morphemes into twelve classes. The most basic dichotomy of morpheme classes is between free morphemes and bound morphemes. Free morphemes are either verbal stems (2.1) or non-verbal stems (2.2). Bound morphemes are either non-verbal stems (2.3–5) or affixes of various classes (2.6–12). In the description of the classes given below, illustrations are given of each of the five types of stems; in the case of the seven types of affixes, the complete list is given. There is some intersection of the classes; at least three of the verbal prefixes occur also as free verbal stems.

2.1. Verbal stems, all of which are free, are distinctive in their distribution in that they alone occur before the verbal suffix (2.10), after verbal prefixes (2.8), after the pre-verbal alternants of the pronouns (see 1.16 above), and before the other alternants of the pronouns. Not every verbal stem has as complete a distribution as this, but every one partakes of at least a part of this description, distinctively from other morphemes. E.g.,

> *da* 'sleep'; *orídà* 'he is sleeping'; *midáì* 'I slept'.
> *bo* 'strike'; *oríbò-hon* 'he is striking them'.
> *funá* 'get tired'; *maáfùná déè* 'I'm awfully tired'.
> *pásàr* 'take a walk'; *oríkò kepásàr* 'he's going to take a walk'.

2.2. Free non-verbal stems are the class which comprises all other free morphemes; some of them occur with non-verbal prefixes and suffixes (2.9, 2.11), many occur with other stems, forming compounds, and some occur only independently. These facts do not suffice to determine morpheme sub-classes, but are related to the sub-classification of syntactic elements.

However, there is one sub-classification here. Most of the morphemes in this class occur sometimes as complete utterances. Others, however, are not free in this strict sense; there are three types of such morphemes. First, some stems are bound to a prefix when they occur in isolation or initially in an utter-

ance, but between breaks within an utterance they occur independently, and are used in all the environments common to the rest of the class; this group includes all of the pronouns.   Second, there are two stems which do not occur in isolation or initially, even with a prefix, but whose distribution is comparable to that of the rest of the class in other respects; these two morphemes are {*mu'*} 'the inside' and {*du*} 'the top'.   Third, a few morphemes do not occur in isolation nor with prefixes or suffices, but occur between breaks in an utterance; these are syntactically conjunctions, as {*áà*} 'who, which', {*ni'a*} 'he who', {*se*} 'if', {*na*} 'but, and then'; this group will be more fully described in connection with the syntax, Chapters III and IV.

Examples of completely free non-verbal stems and stems which occur with a prefix only initially are as follows:

> *dénkém* 'crocodile'; *dénkém-nu* 'the crocodile'; *denkem-bú* 'diamond'.
> *kón* (the) neck'; *nú-kón* 'his neck'.
> *fár* 'the fishermen's quarter (of a town)'; *afar-fú* 'fishermen'.
> *bodóm* 'dog'; *mí-bodóm* 'my dog'; *mbodóm* 'dogs'.
> *kesí* 'big'; *kesínara* 'very big'.
> *ipún* 'table'; *nú-pún* 'his table'; *oríyè pún* 'he is making a table'.
> *ími* 'I'; *mí-ná* 'my mother'; *ma-mi búùkú'-nu* 'give me the book'.

The pronoun morphemes, whose alternants are discussed in 1.16 above, differ from the other morphemes of this class also in respect to their junctural characteristics.   They are followed by close juncture before verbal stems, and preceded or followed by open juncture elsewhere.   Other morphemes of this class have a break in the corresponding positions.   In other respects, however, the distribution of the pronoun morphemes is comparable to that of other non-verbal stems.

2.3. Bound non-verbal stems are divided into three classes, depending on what they are bound with.   The first such class consists of stems which in some occurrences are bound only to a non-verbal prefix (2.9); many of the stems in this class occur also in other environments, but their occurrence with only a prefix in some cases determines their classification, and in other environments as well the prefix remains, no matter what else is added to them.   E.g.,

> *abogwí* 'beard, chin'; *má-abogwí* 'my beard'; *abogwi-gu'ón* 'a white beard'.
> *akutú'* 'orange, oranges'; *mirikótò akutú'* 'I'm going to buy some oranges'.

In the vast majority of morphemes of this class, the prefix is /a/.   It is sometimes /n, m/, but very rarely /o/ or /i/.

2.4. Bound non-verbal stems of the second type are those which are bound only to non-verbal suffixes (2.11), or to the morpheme of reduplication (2.6). E.g.,

> *{*bombo*}:   *bombofú*   'hunter'.
> *{*kuraki*}:   *kurákì-ní'*   'clerk';   *kurákìfú* 'clerks'.
> *{*mun*}:   *múmun*   'green'.
> *{*kaniansaä́*}: *kakaniansaä́* 'centipede'.

2.5. Bound non-verbal stems of the third type are those which are bound to other stems to form compounds. There are several reasons for setting up this classification as distinct from the classifications of prefixes and suffixes. All of the prefixes and suffixes are living formations, which may be applied to newly invented forms; bound stems, which occur in essentially the same environments, are distinct in that they are limited to a very few cases and cannot be freely used to make up new compounds. The prefixes and suffixes are also relational in meaning, while the bound stems are derivational. The precise meaning of many of the bound stems in compounds is not known; a sequence of phonemes is analyzed as a bound stem if it is not a prefix or suffix as defined below in 2.9, 2.11, and if it occurs with a known stem morpheme or with a bound morpheme whose identity is attested by other occurrences. E.g.,

*{kata}: akatá-si'a 'girl, young lady'; compare basí'a 'woman', baní'n 'man'.
*{si'a}: compare the above forms.
*{kire}: akiréba 'sister'; compare {ba} in the above forms.
*{ta}: gi'atá 'lion', atágwí 'tiger nut'; compare gi'a-hín 'lion', ohín 'chief', agwí 'palm kernel'.

2.6. The remaining seven classes of morphemes are all affixes. The first two classes, with only one member in each, are derivational; the remaining five are relational. The first class of derivational affixes consists of the morpheme of reduplication. The alternants and meaning of this morpheme are described in 1.20 above. It occurs immediately before verbal and non-verbal stems; stems so reduplicated occur in the same environments as non-reduplicated stems.

2.7. The second class of derivational affixes consists of the morpheme described in 1.19 above, a change of tone which nominalizes verb stems. This is the only morpheme in Fanti which never contains any segmental phonemes.

2.8. Relational affixes are divided into two main groups, prefixes and suffixes. Each of these groups contains verbal and non-verbal classes, and in addition there is a class of utterance-final particles. The first of these classes of relational affixes is verbal prefixes. A complete list of these follows, with a statement of their meanings, tones, and distribution.

{ri} indicates continuous action in present time, or action about to take place. Its tone is high before a monosyllabic stem, low before all other stems. It usually occurs immediately before the stem, occasionally before the prefixes {bó} and {kó}, never before the negative prefix {n}. E.g., orídà 'he is sleeping'; miríkò 'I'm going' (at the moment or in just a moment); orikásà 'he's speaking'; mirikádì' gu'á 'I'm going shopping'.

{á} indicates an action or state that has been done or maintained in the past, with no specification as to whether it is complete or as to the present state of affairs; in the affirmative it is translated by the English "perfect tense"; in the negative it is translated by a negative "past tense". Its tone is high before all stems, but low before the negative prefix {n}. It occurs immediately before the stem, before the negative prefix {n}, and occasionally before the prefix {kó}.

E.g., *waábà* 'he has come, they have come'; *maákasà* 'I have spoken'; *maáfùnà* 'I'm tired, I have gotten tired'; *maandidí'* 'I didn't eat'; *maankó* 'I didn't go'.

{*a*} indicates an action that takes place after and in relation to a preceding action already mentioned, or an action that is the purpose of a preceding action already mentioned. This prefix is apparently not used in the negative. It always has low tone, distinguishing it from {*á*} above which always has high tone in the affirmative; if this prefix does occur before the negative prefix {*n*}, it is probably phonemically identical with {*á*} above, which has low tone in that position. In the first meaning, indicating the second of two consecutive actions, forms with this prefix are always preceded by a verb and the conjunction {*na*}, and the prefix occurs immediately before the stem. In the second meaning, indicating a purposed action, forms with this prefix are always preceded by a verb; the prefix occurs before the verbal prefix {*kó*} or before the stem. A monosyllabic stem following this prefix has high tone, rather than its normal low tone; the tones of other stems remain the same. E.g., *mirikò akadidí' na maabá* 'I'm going to go eat, and I'll be right back'.

{*n*}, with the alternants /*n, m*/ depending on the consonant that follows, indicates the negative. Its tone is always low, and a monosyllabic stem following it has high tone instead of its normal low tone. It occurs immediately before the stem, and may occur after the prefix {*á*} or in forms with the verbal suffix of the past tense (see 2.10 below). It does not occur with other prefixes; for the formation of negatives of such forms, see Chapter III, 7.22. E.g., *mimpé nkati-nkwán* 'I don't like peanut soup'; *minfuná ntém-tem* 'I don't get tired quickly'; *waambá* 'he (*or* she, *or* it, *or* they) didn't come'; *ombáì* 'he hasn't come'.

{*ń*}, with the alternants /*ń, ḿ*/ depending on the consonant that follows, indicates a cohortative meaning, or an optative meaning for the third person. Its tone is always high, and the tone of a following monosyllabic stem is high. It occurs immediately before the stem, or rarely before {*bo*}, and perhaps before {*ko*}. It is usually preceded in an utterance by {*ma*}, a verb meaning 'give', but here with a meaning something like 'permit it, arrange it'. E.g., *ma yénko* 'let's go'; *ma ónko* 'let him go, have him go'; *ma wú-nú'a ńko* 'let (*or* have) your brother go'.

{*bó*}, with the alternants /*bá, bé, bó*/ depending on the following vowel (see 1.12 above) indicates the future tense. The morpheme may be identical with the verbal stem {*ba*} 'come', but this is extremely dubious and, at best, of merely historical interest. This prefix always has high tone. It occurs before the stem, occasionally after {*ri*} or {*ń*}, and occasionally before the verbal suffix indicating past tense (!) when the form is preceded by the verb {*ba*} 'come' with that suffix. The tone of a following monosyllabic stem is high in some cases, low in others; this difference seems to be lexically determined, but there also seems to be some freedom of usage. This grammar does not include a statement of which monosyllabic stems have high tone, and which low tone, after this prefix; the material at present does not justify a complete statement. E.g., *obéba* 'he'll come'; *obéyè hiw* 'it's going to be hot'; *mibóbùá-wù* 'I'll help you'; *obáà há bédaì* 'he came here to sleep'.

{*kó*}, with the alternants /*ká, ké, kó*/ depending on the following vowel (see

1.12 above) indicates that the actor 'goes' to perform the action indicated by the stem. This morpheme is certainly the same as the verb stem {ko} 'go'. Its tone as a verbal prefix is precisely the same as that of {bó} above. It occurs before a stem, occasionally after {ri, á, a, ṅ} as described above, and occasionally before the past tense suffix. E.g., mikádì' gu'á 'I go shopping, I'm going shopping'.

{dì} and {fá}, the latter of which has the alternants /fá, fé, fó/ depending on the following vowel, indicate that the actor uses, holds, or takes an object when he performs the action indicated by the stem. These morphemes are certainly the same as the verb stems {di, fa} 'take'. Their tones as verbal prefixes are the same as those of {bó, kó}. They occur before a stem, occasionally before the past tense suffix, and usually in forms which are preceded by another verb form with the stem {di} or {fa}, which form is followed by the object to be used, held, or taken. E.g., fa síkán fókwi'à nám-nu 'cut the meat with a knife'; odi búùkú'-nu dìmaà-mi 'he gave me the book'.

2.9. Non-verbal prefixes occur before non-verbal stems, both free and bound, and before verbal stems plus the tonal morpheme which nominalizes them. The non-verbal prefixes are {i, a, o, n, an}. They almost invariably have low tone, but before pronoun stems and some others they have high tone. Many stems never occur with a prefix; some occur with two different prefixes in different meanings; some occur with two prefixes with no difference in meaning; some with prefixes only in certain positions; and some always with a prefix. There are some traces of meaning in the various prefixes, but there is no well-defined limitation to any of the definitions, and there is considerable irregularity. In general these prefixes, including perhaps the absence of any, seem to indicate certain classes of nouns; however, the classes overlap in many places. A rough statement of common parallels of prefixes with certain meanings may be given, but the exceptions are perhaps more common than the rule.

{o} has often indicates persons; however, many personal nouns have other prefixes, and many forms with {o} are not personal.

{n}, with the alternants /n, m/ depending on the following consonant, often indicates plurals or abstracts. This is by no means consistent, but many nouns which occur with other prefixes or no prefix form the plurals by the use of the prefix {n}.

{a} often indicates plurals, especially of forms which have the prefix {o} in the singular; in many cases it is used with forms which refer to an action or state, as nouns formed from verbal stems. However, many other forms also occur. This is by far the most common prefix, and, apart from some cases with {n} and a mere handful with {o} and {i}, is the typical prefix of forms that never occur without a prefix.

{i} seems to cover no particular class at all, though it is common with forms that occur only initially with a prefix.

2.10. One verbal suffix exists; it indicates the past tense. Its alternants and illustrations of its use have been described above in 1.17. It occurs after a verbal stem, and with some verbal prefixes (see 2.8 above).

2.11. Non-verbal suffixes are six in number:

{í}, with the additional alternant consisting of the final vowel of a preceding stem with high tone, is described and illustrated in 1.18 above. It occurs with no other suffixes except probably before {nú}.

{núm} indicates the plural of a few personal nouns and of íyi' 'this' and obí' 'someone'. The personal nouns are especially those indicating family relationships. E.g., anú'a-num 'brothers'; yiŕ-num 'wives'; íyi'-num 'these'.

{ára} is a suffix used to generalize or intensify the meaning of what precedes. Unlike other suffixes, it occurs after the pre-nominal alternants of the pronouns, and occasionally after a verb; perhaps for this reason it should be called a non-verbal stem (2.2 above). It is, however, unique in its phonemic structure, and somewhat different in its distribution. In some forms it is preceded by /n/; this has not been listed among the morpheme alternants in 1.0–21 above, because it has not as yet been assigned to any one morpheme; in fact, it may be an additional morpheme with zero meaning which is bound to the position before /ára/. A few examples of the use of this suffix are as follows: kesínara 'very big', obí'ara 'any one at all', biríbi'ara 'anything at all', ntémara 'quickly, right now', síasi'aara 'right now', ampáara 'certainly, of course', yéyè kúr wo biríbi'ara hǔ 'we agree about everything', ná-ara ná-asém 'everything about him, all that pertains to him'.

{ní'} indicates a person described by the preceding stem, which is either a non-verbal stem or a verbal stem plus nominalizing tone. It is usually preceded by the non-verbal prefix {o}, sometimes by no prefix. A preceding non-verbal stem usually has all low tones; a preceding verbal stem, because of the nominalizing tone, ends in high tone. This suffix always has a specifically singular meaning. Illustrations are given after the next paragraph.

{fú} indicates a class of persons, sometimes several persons, sometimes a single person, described by the preceding stem. Its distribution and tone are the same as those of {ní'}. It often indicates the plural of forms in {ní'}, and in these cases always has the non-verbal prefix {a}. In other cases it usually has the prefix {a}, but sometimes no prefix and sometimes {o}. In cases where {fú} indicates a class of persons, {ní'} is sometimes added after {fú} to indicate an individual member of the class. E.g., buro-ní' or oburo-ní' 'white man', aburofú 'white men'; ofarí-ní' 'fisherman', afar-fú 'fishermen; daamfú 'friend', adaamfú 'friends'; ogwi'n-fú 'craftsman', agwi'n-fú 'craftsmen'; osófú 'priest, minister', asófú 'priests, ministers'; (o)kirekiré-ní' 'teacher', akirekiréfú 'teachers'; asafú 'army'; apufú 'sailors, the navy (as personnel)', opufú-ní 'a sailor'.

{nú}, which is certainly the same morpheme as the third person singular pronoun, occurs after non-verbal stems and after the suffixes {í, ní', fú} with a definitizing meaning. In this position it has high tone, or, if the preceding tone is mid, it has mid tone. It never has low tone, however. Its use after larger syntactic elements than segments between two breaks is more fully described in Chapters III and IV. Its commonest and simplest usage, however, is illustrated by the following: dán-nu 'the house', owo dán-nu nú-mù' 'he is in the house', asafú-nu 'the army', mipe kesí-nu 'I want the big one', dán kesí-nu 'the big(gest) house'.

2.12. The last class of affixes consists of five morphemes which are only vowels: {a, á, e, é, u'ó}; the last has the zero variant of /u/. These are the utterance-

final particles. {e} and {é} are not as well attested as the others, and may turn out to be the same, but the following meanings and examples seem clear:

{a} is a question particle, and may be added to any utterance to make a question out of it. E.g., *iríkò a* 'are you going?', *imi a* 'Is it I?'

{á} is a particle of identification, used apparently only after nouns. E.g. *imi á* 'It's me', *agu'á á* 'it's a chair, here's a chair'.

{e} is a question particle, used apparently only after nouns, with a meaning something like 'how about?' E.g., *na ónu e* 'how about him?', *wá-apó-mù' e* or *wú-hunám-mù' e* 'How are you?' (lit., 'how about your body?')

{é} is an exclamatory particle used after some greetings and imperatives, most commonly in *nantiw yi'é é* 'Goodbye!' (lit., 'walk well!').

{u'o} is a similar exclamatory particle, much more commonly used. E.g., *nantiw yi'é u'ó* 'Goodbye!', *mbú u'ó* 'that's the stuff!'

3.0. The phonemic structure of morphemes is a pertinent subject for discussion because a knowledge of the facts helps in the understanding of many of the tonal features of Fanti and also in the recognition of morphemes as such. Although every vowel in Fanti has a definable tone, and although the writing system for tones relates them to segments between two breaks, the determining factor in the tonal sequences of an utterance is the morpheme unit. Each morpheme has its own tones, some of them conditioned by the segmental phonemes of the morpheme, others determined only lexically. The tones of some morphemes undergo morphotonemic changes in positions adjacent to certain other morphemes. These changes have been covered in the above sections, with one important exception which is determined by the syntax (see Chapter III, 7.23 below). The inherent tones and segmental structure of the morphemes according to their classes is discussed in this section.

3.1. Verb stems are of three basic tonal types, having the patterns low, low-high, and high-low. All verb stems which contain only one vowel (including those with a second vowel that has a zero variant) have low tone, with whatever changes are stated in 2.8 and 2.10 above. The second type, with tones low-high, include stems of the structure consonant-vowel-vowel, when the vowels are different; the first vowel in such cases is always /i/ or /u/. Also included in this second type are all other stems whose first vowel is /i/ or /u/ followed by /w,r, m, n/. A final consonant may occur with any stem of this type. The third type of verb stems, with tones high-low, include all other stems with two vowels. Stems with more than two vowels, and reduplicated stems, except /hwihwé/ 'look for, want' and /didí'/ 'eat', follow either the second or third type depending on the portion of the stem which includes the last two vowels. Illustrations of these three types of stems are as follows:

I		II		III	
fa	take	*buá*	'help'	*kásà*	'speak'
sum	serve	*bir̃*	ripen	*páà*	split
kwi'a	cut	*pi'rá*	hurt	*bí'sà*	ask
hwi'ew	sip from hands	*kiréw*	write	*nántìw*	walk
kũ	fight	*siasi'é*	get ready	*kínkàn*	read

No unreduplicated verb stem contains more than two vowels with the possible exception of {doosũ} 'be more than enough'; this may be a series of two verbs, by comparison with {sũ} 'be big, be enough'. The above statements, then, suffice to show that the entire verbal system has automatic tones. It is still necessary to mark tones phonemically, however, because some of the prefixes are distinguished only by tone, and because some verb forms are distinguished from some non-verbal forms only by tone. With a complicated statement of where such possible ambiguities do not exist, the writing of tones with a large number of verb forms could be eliminated for practical purposes in a morpho-phonemic orthography.

In general, it will be noted that all verbal stems, as well as non-verbal stems, begin with a consonant, with one exception noted below. None begins with /r/.

3.2. Non-verbal stems, whether they are free or bound, show many similarities in their segmental structure to verbal stems. The only case of a non-verbal stem beginning with a vowel is the case of the conjunction {aa} 'which, who'. Stems that contain no more than two vowels have the same segmental structure as the verb stems noted above; however, many non-verbal stems contain more than two vowels; usually three, sometimes four, rarely if ever more. Longer stems may be described as to their segmental structure by stating that they consist of any combinations of the structure of one- and two-vowel stems. The tones of non-verbal stems, however, are not determined by the segmental struc-ture, but lexically, except for the pronouns; see the lists of lexical elements at the end of the grammar. The commonest tone sequence is one or more low tones followed by a single high tone, or a single high tone with a monosyllabic stem. Other patterns, in approximate order of frequency, are two final high tones, final high-mid, three final high tones, final high-low-mid, and final high-low. A few stems have only low tones. These patterns can be best illustrated by a few cases of minimal contrasts:

dú'a	tree;	*dú'á*	tail;	*adu'á* beans; cf. *du'á* to plant.
nkáa	debt;	*nkáá*	reminder.	
búsúm	a deity;	*busúḿ*	moon, month.	

The tones of the pronoun stems are high after a nominal prefix, high before non-verbal stems, low after verbal stems, and high or low before verbal stems. Before verbal stems which have only low tone, and no prefixes, they are usually high. Before other verbal stems with no prefixes they are low. They are low also before the verbal suffix of the past tense, before {á, a, n, ri, bo} and other prefixes except {ń}; before {ń} they are high. A few additional notes will be made on this subject in Chapter III, 7.23.

3.3. No prefix or suffix contains more than three phonemes, and most contain only one or two. All prefixes except the verbal prefixes that occur or perhaps occur elsewhere as free stems consist of a single vowel, with the further exception or the non-verbal prefix {an} and the verbal prefix {ri}; even these forms, how-ever, have a segmental structure different from that of any stem. The suffixes show a wider range of structure. The tones of prefixes and suffixes have already been fully discussed for each individually in 2.8–12 above.

III. THE SYNTACTIC ELEMENTS

0.0. The syntactic elements are the immediate constituents of the constructions discussed below in Chapter IV. They may be classified in such a way that each member of a class may be substituted for another without changing the syntactic relations of the construction.

0.1. The criterion for such classification of syntactic elements is the existence of at least one distinctive position in a construction in which the members of one class occur and in which the members of other classes do not occur. The statement of these distinctive positions does not exhaust all the positions for each class, but only suffices to distinguish the classes. The statement of all the positions of each class is the syntax of the language, which is discussed in Chapter IV.

0.2. The classes of syntactic elements must not be considered as "meaning" classes. To a large extent they happen to parallel meaning distinctions, but meaning is in no case a criterion for classification.

0.3. The syntactic elements of Fanti vary in length. No attempt is made to describe them in terms of "words" or "phrases", although such names may be practical in many cases. The elements may consist of a single morpheme, often with no phonemic mark to set them apart from adjacent elements; they are often equivalent to a segment between two breaks, in which case they might conveniently be called "words"; and in many cases they are segments including one or more breaks, to which the term "phrases" might conveniently apply, though it cannot be used in a phonemic sense.

0.4. The following sections state the distinctive position in which each class of syntactic elements is set up, and the internal structure of each class in terms of its immediate constituents down to the level of morphemes. The discussion of the internal structure of the elements involves the setting up of sub-classes in some cases.

0.5. Syntactic elements are not necessarily identical with lexical elements. The lexical elements included in the classified lists at the end of the grammar do not include breaks, except in a very few cases; forms with initial pronouns are not included, and forms with relational affixes such as the verbal prefixes are not included. In fact, the relational affixes may be considered as lexical elements in themselves.

1.0. **Interjections** are elements which always occur after a stop or pause, and which always occur before a stop or pause or before an utterance-final particle followed by a stop or pause. That is, they always occur in isolation, except for the utterance-final particle that may follow them. All other elements differ from interjections in that they do not always occur in isolation.

1.1. In segments between breaks, interjections consist of a single stem or a stem with a non-verbal prefix. E.g.,

> *dú'é.* That's too bad! *or* Take it easy!
> *hái'.* Hey!
> *kú'sé.* Excuse me! (Said after an accidental action.)

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ḿbú.   That's the stuff!
ńyi'èw.   Yes.
óù'hó.   No.

1.2. In segments that include a break, interjections consist of one of the above plus an utterance final particle, which is usually if not always {*u'ó*}. E.g.,

        ḿbú u'ó   That's the stuff!

2. **Utterance-final particles** are elements which never occur after pause, and always occur before pause. That is, they are never in isolation, and always final. All the remaining elements sometimes occur after pause, or else do not always occur before pause. The list of utterance-final particles is given in Chapter II, 2.12 above, with illustrations of their use. They always consist of a single morpheme, which is a single vowel except for {*u'ó*}, and in that case the first vowel has a zero variant; they are always preceded by phonemic break.

3.0. **Conjunctions** are elements which never occur both after and before pause. That is, they are never in isolation, but not always final; in fact, only one ever does occur finally. The remaining elements sometimes occur in isolation.

3.1. In segments between two breaks, conjunctions consist of a single stem, or of a stem with a non-verbal prefix. E.g.,

na	and, but	*oní*	with, and
déè	that, in order that, like	*nke*	it used to be that, it would
ma	so that, in order that		have been that

3.2. In segments including a break, there are four combinations used as conjunctions, and two forms which consist of two morphemes separated by the remainder of the constuction with which they are used. In the latter case, the final {*a*} may also be analyzed as the utterance-final particle. These conjunctions are:

ansǎ na	before	*na su*	but also, but even
osi'àn déè	because	*se . . . a*	if, when
na ḿbu'óm	but even, but yet	*kánsǎ . . . a*	even if, although

4.0. **Adjectives** are elements which never occur after pause unless they are followed by {*-nú*} 'the, that', {*yí'*} 'this', or {*bí'*} 'a certain', or unless they are in isolation as citations or answers to questions. All the remaining elements occur after pause without one of these morphemes following.

4.1. In segments between two breaks, adjectives consist of a single stem, a reduplicated or triplicated non-verbal stem, or either of these with a non-verbal prefix. The suffixes {*-nú*} and {*-ára*} may also occur. E.g.,

kesí	big	*akesí*	big (after a plural noun)
turom	flat, level, smooth	*purompurom*	prosperous
dónkuroon	deep	*múmun*	green
mbi'rew	weak	*kesí-nu*	the big one
díndinndin	terribly hard	*kesínara*	very big

4.2. In segments including one or more breaks, adjectives after a pause consist of one of the above, except forms ending in {-nú}, followed by {bí'} or {yí'}; in other positions, they consist of one of the above followed by dúdu 'too much, too', or of two or more of the above joined together by the conjunction {na}. E.g.,

kesí bí'	a big one (referring to something already mentioned)
oye kesí na tuntú'm	it's big and black
kesí dúdu	too big

5.0. **Adverbs** are elements which do not occur after pause at all, except in isolation. All the remaining elements occur after pause with this limitation or the limitation stated for adjectives.

5.1. In segments between two breaks, adverbs have the same construction as adjectives (see 4.1 above), except that {-nú} is never added. E.g.,

<div align="center">

deḿ thus   ḿpu'ó even
ntém or ntém-tem or ntémara quickly

</div>

5.2. In segments including one or more breaks, one of the above may be followed by dúdu 'too much, too', as in the case of adjectives, though not all adverbs occur in this position. Temporal noun groups (see 6.33 below) also occur in adverbial position, but are not adverbs because they share other positions with nouns and do not share the limitations of adverbs as defined in 5.0 above. The syntax of these temporal complexes is discussed more fully in comparison with adverbs in Chapter IV, 8 below.

6.0. **Nouns** are elements which do not occur between a pause and an adverb followed by pause; that is, no utterance consists of only a noun followed by an adverb. The remaining elements do occur in this position.

6.10. In segments between two breaks, nouns consist of a base which is composed of one or more stems, or such a base plus non-verbal affixes.

6.11. Starting from the end of such a noun, the last morpheme that occurs is the definitizing suffix {-nú}. This is usually translated by the English definite article "the"; however, it is more accurately a remote demonstrative, sometimes demanding the translation "that", while "the" is sometimes expressed in Fanti by íyí' 'this'. {-nú} also occurs sometimes after forms which have an initial pronoun morpheme. Syntactically, it is in a class with the demonstrative noun íyí', which occurs in non-initial position as yí' (see 6.36 below). It is discussed here only because of its junctural situation; it is undoubtedly also the same morpheme as the stem in ónu 'that one, he, she, it'. E.g.,

<div align="center">

búùkú'-nu	the book, that book
nú-búùkú'-nu	that book of his
ipufú-ní'-nu	the sailor

</div>

6.12. The suffixes {núm} and {ára} also occur in final position only; however, they do not occur after {fú} or {ní'}, and not freely with all nouns. E.g.,

<div align="center">

íyí'-num	these
obí'ara	anyone

</div>

6.13. The suffixes {*fú*} and {*ní'*} and {*i*} (see Chapter II, 2.11) occur finally or before {*-nú*}; the combination {*fú-ní'*} also occurs (ibid.).

6.14. The arrangement of these suffixes is summarized in the following chart. Read horizontally, including no more than one member of a vertical column in one form, and omitting any vertical column optionally.

	i		
			nú
Base	*fú*	*ní'*	
	núm		
	ára		

6.15. Starting from the beginning of nouns in segments between two breaks, the first morpheme that occurs is a pronoun. This combination expresses a possessive relationship. E.g.,

> *mí-dán*   my house
> *má-awufú*   my parents

6.16. Any one of the nominal prefixes {*i, a, o, n, an*} may occur initially, and {*a, n, an*} and very occasionally {*i, o*} occur after pronouns. These prefixes are more fully discussed in Chapter II, 2.9 above.

6.20. What remains of nouns in segments between two breaks when the affixes are accounted for is the base, which in many cases occurs with no affixes at all. The base consists of a single non-verbal stem, a reduplicated stem, a verbal stem plus the morpheme of nominalizing tone, occasionally a reduplicated verbal stem with the same morpheme, a simple or reduplicated verbal stem without nominalizing tone if {*i*} follows, or a group of two or more stems. All of these constructions are perfectly simple or have been fully illustrated in previous sections, except the last; such a group of two or more stems in a noun base is a *compound base*. Several types of compound bases occur, as described in the following sub-sections.

6.21. Compound bases which consist of two non-verbal stems, each of which occurs elsewhere as the base of a noun or one or both of which is a bound stem, are by far the most common type. There seems to be no regularity as to which of the elements is the head and which is the modifier, though perhaps the order modifier-head is more common. The second element is very commonly {*bá*} 'child, young, small', {*dí*} 'thing', or {*así*} 'the under part'; compounds with {*mu'*} 'the inside of' may be freely constructed for any object that has an inside, and similarly for {*du*} 'the top'. However, that is only a statement of frequency; there is no special limitation on what second elements occur. In a few cases, non-verbal prefixes occur with the second element, regardless of whether there is one before the first. E.g.,

> *iku'róba*   village; cf. *iku'ró* city; *bá* child, young.
> *ahíndi*   kingdom, reign; cf. *ohín* chief; *adí* thing.

baní'n	man; cf. *bá* child, young; *ní'n* male.
basí'a	woman; cf. *bá* child, young; {*sí'a*} is bound.
nkatí-nkwán	peanut soup; cf. *nkatí* peanuts; *nkwán* soup.
aku'ró-mù'-fú	citizenry; cf. *iku'ró* city; *mu'* the inside; plus *-fú*.

6.22. Similar compounds are composed of three or four non-verbal stems; however, the immediate constituents of such bases are only two in number, either one (in bases with three stems) or both (in bases with four stems) being a compound of the type described above.   E.g.,

inu'a-basí'a	sister; cf. *inú'a* brother; *basí'a* woman, itself composed of *bá* child, young, and {*sí'a*}, a bound stem.
afuraba-baní'n	boy; cf. *afurába* child, composed of *afurá* child and *bá* child, young; *baní'n* man, composed of the same *bá* and *ní'n* male.
asuwó-mù'-adí	earrings; cf. *asuwá* ears (perhaps itself a compound of *asú* and *wá*); *mu'* the inside; the second element is *adí* things.

6.23. Compound bases composed of a non-verbal stem followed by a verbal stem are rather common; a variant of this type is a three-stem compound with two immediate constituents the first of which is a compound composed of two non-verbal stems and the second of which is a verbal stem (cf. 6.22 above). Most of these compounds are of the goal-action type.   A few have verbal stems which do not occur with a goal, and the compounds are then of the actor-action type.   In each case, the compound may be dissected and its elements used separately in action-goal and actor-action constructions (see Chapter IV, 5.2, 1).   E.g.,

afu-tú'	advice; cf. *otúù'-mi fú* he advised me, he gave me advice.
agur-dí'	playing; cf. *worídì' agúr* they are playing.
adikiǐ	morning; cf. *ma adí nkǐ* goodnight (may morning come); *literally,* may things become bright.
awire-fí'	forgetfulness; cf. *mí-wíre áfî'* 'I've forgotten'.

6.24. Compound bases composed of a verbal stem followed by a non-verbal stem are less common, but several occur.   Most of them are modifier-head constructions, but a few are action-goal constructions.   E.g.,

kwire-bú	flint; cf. *kwirów* scratch; *bú* stone.
akédi	a present; cf. *ke* to present; *dí* thing.
asuádi	burden; cf. *suá* carry (on the head); *dí* thing.
akiréw-di	writing implement; cf. *kiréw* write; *dí* thing.
adi'bán	food; cf. *di'* eat; {*bán*} is bound.
ahe-ási	beginning; cf. *ohéè así déè ókasà*. He began to talk.
agi-nkwǎ	savior; cf. *gi* save; *nkwǎ* life.

6.25. Compound bases composed of a non-verbal stem, a verbal stem, and a non-verbal stem are rare.   The two best examples are:

ani'da-dú   hope; cf. *aní'* the eye; *da* to lie; *dú* the top, on; *miwo ani'da-dú*
                 déè míboko I have hope that I can go; I hope that I can
                 go; the compound seems to mean literally 'the eye
                 lying on it'.

ani'm-gu'-ási   shame; cf. *aní'm* face; *gu'* pour or drop; *así* the under part,
                 down; perhaps 'the falling of the face'.

6.26. A few compound bases composed of two verbal stems have been recorded.
E.g., with the suffix {*fú*}, *wudí'-fú* murderer; cf. *wu'* die; *di'* partake of, consume
(a stem with a wide range of meaning and many special meanings in certain
collocations). However, this form may have to be included under 6.23 above.
Cf. *waádì' owú'* 'he has committed murder', where {*wu'*} occurs with nominaliz-
ing tone.

6.30. Before describing the structure of nouns in elements which include one or
more breaks, it is necessary to set up certain subclasses of nouns which are
differently used in such segments. As in the case of syntactic elements as a
whole, the criterion for the establishment of these sub-classes is the existence of a
distinctive position in which the members of each class occur. Here also there
is a parallel with "meaning" classes, but again meaning is not a classificatory
criterion.

6.31. *Locative nouns* are those which do not occur in any segments which
include a break, except that {*hó*} 'there' and {*há*} 'here' occur after personal
nouns. A possible exception to this is the very occasional use of a locative
followed by another noun in an origin-object construction; e.g., *ihó nsú'* 'the
water of that place', *aburo-kí'r ki'enté* 'foreign cloth'. These, however, seem to
be technical or literary expressions which, judging from the speech of Mr. Mbura,
are not living constructions. They are perhaps used in titles, advertising, and
trade language, which are special linguistic types similar to newspaper English
and do not form a basic part of a descriptive grammar of the spoken language.
Locatives consist of place names and a few other words. E.g.,

anumabó	Anumabo	*ihó* (non-initially *hó*) there, that place
nkiran	Accra	*ihá* (non-initially *há*) here, this place
agu'aá	Cape Coast	*ihín* (non-initially *hín*) where?, what place?
akinfú	Saltpond	*wú-hó* you (there)
si'ka-mbíu	The Gold Coast	*mí-há* me (here)

6.32. *Personal nouns* are those which do not occur after a pronoun nor before a
demonstrative, a numeral, or an adjective. They include the pronouns them-
selves and names of persons. The pronouns are not a distinctive sub-class on
any criterion of distribution, but have been identified and named as a distinct
group of morphemes because of their morpheme alternants (see Chapter II,
1.16). Personal names are an interesting subject of discussion by themselves;
Fanti has names for males and females depending on which day of the week they
were born, and also has names given for the order of birth. However, this is

essentially a sociological matter, and has been adequately treated in appropriate writings, including grammars of Fanti and related languages.[10]

6.33. *Temporal nouns* also do not occur before adjectives, and some of them do not occur before demonstratives or numerals. However, they form a class distinct from personal nouns on other grounds, because they are used in some adverbial positions in which other nouns do not occur (see Chapter IV, 8). E.g.,

anapá	morning	*awi'a-bĭr*	noon, daytime
ńde	today	*ikí'na*	tomorrow
abĭr-nu	(at) that time	*síasi'aara*	right now, in just a moment

6.34. *Abstract nouns* are those which do occur before adjectives and after pronouns, but not before numerals. Nouns with a collective meaning seem to belong in this class also, but the recorded materials do not include test cases for every noun. Abstracts, however, certainly include nouns such as these:

ahum-kắ	happiness	*odó*	love
ahum-gwiĭ	calm, peace	*ikóm*	hunger[11]

6.35. *Unit nouns* are those which do occur before numerals. This is probably the largest class of nouns. E.g.,

bodóm	dog	*ahumá*	rope
idán	house	*nsá*	hand

6.36. *Demonstrative nouns*, occurring only alone or after unit nouns, abstract nouns, and some temporal nouns, are a class with only one member, *tyi'* 'this' (non-initially *yi'*). Syntactically, however, the suffix {-*nú*} belongs in the same class, with its initial form *ónu* (see 6.11 above).

6.37. *Numerals* are those nouns which occur only alone or after unit nouns and some temporal nouns. They include nouns with numerical meaning, and also *obí'* 'a certain one, someone' (non-initially *bí'*), combinations with *obí'*, *ni'ná* 'all', combinations with *ni'ná*, and *pii'* 'many, much'. Syntactically, the suffixes {*núm*} and {*ára*} are also numerals; they do not occur before numerals, but numerals may be substituted for them; however, both occur after *obí'*, and {*ára*} occurs after *ni'ná*. The numerical terms, with sufficient cases to show the construction of numerals to 100, are as follows:

ikúr (non-initially *kúr*)	one	*asi'ắ*	six
abí'èn	two	*asu'ón*	seven

[10] One historico-sociological point that has perhaps never been made before is at least worthy of a footnote. The American name *Cuffy*, applied as recently as a century or less ago to any Negro, has been traced to Dutch Guiana, where the form *Koffi* is said to have been used for a male born on Friday (H. L. Mencken, The American Language). The name is obviously the Fanti /*kofi'*/, with the same meaning, and indubitably has its origin in Fanti or other Akan languages.

[11] This form sometimes occurs without prefix initially; otherwise there seem to be few nouns with no prefix that are in the class of abstracts. Some disease names, as *dubé* 'yaws' and *konduroků* 'yellow fever', may be abstracts, but it is not certain.

abi'ásã	three	*awokwí*	eight
anán	four	*akúnu*	nine
anú'm	five	*adú'*	ten

.....

adú' baákũ	eleven	*adú' anán*	fourteen
adú' abí'èn	twelve	*adú' anú'm*	fifteen
adú' abi'ásã	thirteen	etc.	

.....

aduánù'	twenty	*aduénù' na abí'èn*	twenty-two
adu'asã́	thirty	*adu'asã́ na abi'ásã*	thirty-three
adu'anán or *adu'onán*	forty	etc.	
aduanú'm or *aduonú'm*	fifty		
aduasi'ã́ or *aduosi'ã́*	sixty		
adu'-akúnu or *adu'o-kúnu*	ninety		

A few illustrations of larger numerals:

ohá	one hundred	*ohá na akúnu*	109
ohá abí'èn	two hundred	*ohá anán na aduanú'm*	450
apím	one thousand	*ohá, adu'-awokwí, esi'ã́* or	
mopípĩ	one million	*ohá na ad'u-awokwí na*	
		esi'ã́	186
ohá adu'-akúnu, adu'anán, abi'ásã			1943

6.40. The structure of nouns in segments including one or more breaks **may** now be discussed in terms of these sub-classes.

6.41. An abstract noun, a unit noun, a numeral and some temporal nouns, **may** be followed by a demonstrative; and a unit noun and the same temporal nouns **may** be followed by a numeral. This statement applies also to all combinations described in the following sections which form unit nouns or the other classes. The numeral *kúr* 'one' may also precede *bí'*. E.g.,

baní'n bí'	a certain man	*baní'n kúr bí'*	a certain man
baní'n bí'ara	any man	*baní'n yí'*	this man
mbaní'n ohá	a hundred men	*mbaní'n ohá-nu*	the hundred men

6.42. Series of two or more nouns as defined to this point occur with great frequency; they are structurally similar to nouns with compound bases consisting of two to four non-verbal stems. The numerals from eleven through nineteen illustrate this construction (see 6.37 above), in comparison with those for the multiples of ten. Other such series can often be analyzed into two immediate constituents with the relationship of modifier-head, and still others consist of elements which are in apposition to each other. Included in this category also are nouns whose first element is *ibèn* 'what kind of?', which does not occur independently. E.g.,

ohín fí'e	a chief's house	*ibèn adí*	what?
bodóm wú'rà	a dog's master	*ibèn abír*	what time, when?
ku'bé dú'a	coconut tree	*ibèn adí ńti'*	what reason, why?
hén-agi'á otú'ḿ-fú awu'ra-ádi niankúpón Our Father the Almighty Lord			
		God	

6.43. Any abstract or unit noun may be followed by an adjective; and at least unit nouns may be followed by a series of two or more adjectives, or by a series of adjectives joined to each other by (na) (see 4.2 above). E.g.,

bodóm tuntú'm (na) kesí kúr bí' a (certain) big black dog
íkóm kesínara a great famine, great hunger

Adjectives joined by {na} in this construction seem to occur in any order. Series without {na} are infrequent, and no statement can be made at present as to the order in which they occur. However, there seems to be a definite order, perhaps color first, then size, then other characteristics.

6.44. Personal nouns other than pronouns, unit nouns, and probably also abstract nouns, may be followed by a unit noun with the initial pronoun {nú-} 'his, her, its', or {hón-} 'their'; this expresses a possessor-object relationship. Included in this category are the very common expressions of local relationship, in which the second noun is *mu'* 'the inside', *du* 'the top', *así* 'the bottom', *nkén* 'the vicinity', *aní'm* 'the front', *akí'r* 'the back', *hú* 'the circumference, the body', etc.; these also occur in ordinary series as described in 6.42 above, but with less frequency; in this construction, preceded by {nú-}, the first noun commonly has the suffix {-nú} or a prefixed pronoun. E.g.,

má-agi'á nú-ponkó my father's horse
búùkú' yí nú-dí'n the name of this book
owo dán-nu nú-mù' he's in the house
ohe dú'a-nu ná-akí'r he's behind the tree
mí-fí'e wo nú-fí'e nú-nkén my house is near his house
oye-nu wo nku'ro-fú ni'náara hón-aní'm he does it before all the people

6.45. A series of nouns may be joined by the conjunction *oní* (often *ní* non-initially) 'with, and'. Pronouns preceding *ní* have their pre-verbal alternants. This construction is used only before active verbs (see Chapter IV, 5 below) of nouns that accompany each other in the action. E.g.,

miní má-agi'á kori anumabú. My father and I went to Anumabo.
mipe déè miní-wu kó. I'd like to go with you.
mí-nú'a ní má-agi'á riye agwú'ma. My brother is working with my father.

6.46. A series of nouns may be joined by the conjunction *na* 'and' in other constructions; in series with more than two members, a pause usually precedes each *na*, and *na* may be omitted entirely. E.g.,

má-agi'á na mí-ná ti hó. My father and mother live there.
mihúní' wá-agi'á na wú-ná. I saw your father and mother.
yewo mbodóm, (na) mponkó, We have dogs, horses, pigs, and goats.
(na) mpu'rékó, (na) aponkí.

7.0. The remaining syntactic elements are verbs; they are those which, unlike all others, sometimes occur between a pause and an adverb followed by a pause; that is, an utterance may consist of only a verb and an adverb.

7.1. In segments between two breaks, verbs consist of a *base* alone or of a base plus verbal affixes (Chapter II, 2.8, 10). A base consists of a single verbal

stem or a reduplicated verbal stem, and nothing more. Pronouns in their appropriate alternants (see Chapter II, 1.16 above) precede verbal forms with close juncture, or follow them with open juncture; however, they are syntactically nouns, and not part of the verbal form at all.

7.20. Verbal bases in relation to affixes are of two types; some are extremely limited in their occurrence with affixes, others are unlimited. The first group is syntactically a class of *stative verbs* (see Chapter IV, 4 below); the second group is syntactically a class of *active verbs* (see Chapter, 5 below).

7.21. Some stative verbs occur with none of the verbal affixes; these all happen to be monosyllabic, and pronouns before them are always low in tone instead of the normal high; in one case the verbal stem itself has high tone. A few other stative verbs occur with only the future prefix {*bó*}; all of these happen to monosyllabic stems with high tone also, and there are no other stems of this kind. The verb stem {*ye*} 'be described as' also belongs in this class; it occurs with the future prefix {*bó*} and the perfect prefix {*á*}; it deserves special mention because it also occurs as an active verb in the meaning 'do, make', with all affixes. E.g.,

> *wo* (alternant in negative: *nì*) 'have, be located at'.
> *owo sí'ka*. He has money.
> *owo dán-nu nú-mù'*. He is in the house.
> For other tenses, compare *ni'a* 'get', *ko* 'go to', *ba* 'come to'.
>
> *nì* 'be identical with'.
> *mì-kéw nì yì'*. This is my hat.
> *má-agi'á nì ónu*. He is my father, *or* That is my father.[12]
>
> *ti* 'live at, be located at'.
> *mìti hó*. I live there.
> For other tenses, compare *tiná* 'live at, be located at'.
>
> *di* 'take, use, hold'.
> *odi síkán*. He has a knife.
> *midi síkán díkwi'à nám*. I use a knife to cut meat.
> For other tenses, compare *fa* 'take'.
>
> *nì'm̀* 'know'. For other tenses, compare *hũ'* 'see'.
> *yi'é* 'be good'.
> *mu'ó* 'be bad'.
> *sũ̀* 'be large'.
> *ye* 'be described as'.
> *oye kéw*. It's a hat. Compare *óyè kéw*. He makes a hat.

[12] The old translation of the Bible into Fanti renders I John 4:8b as *niamì nì odó* 'God is (identical with) love', which may mean also 'Love is God'. It is reported, however, that most ministers cite the verse as *niamì ye odó* 'God is (to be described as) love', and it is also reported that the new translation of the Bible about to be or recently published has the latter form. The first is good Christian Science teaching, the latter is the only acceptable orthodox translation. One wonders whether the early translators, who were Europeans assisted by native informants, were quite aware of this distinction in Fanti. The new translation, in the hands of natives to a much larger extent, may show many other improvements over the old, besides the orthographic change which was apparently the impetus for the retranslation.

obéye deḿ. It'll be (done) that way.
mí-nsá áyè fí'. My hands are dirty.

7.22. All other bases form *active verbs*, and occur with all the verbal affixes with few if any limitations. The arrangement of the various affixes is described in Chapter II, 2.8 above, in a statement for each affix. These features of arrangement may be summarized in the following list, with the addition of some verbs in segments that include one or more breaks which are necessary to illustrate all the affixes. The list is arranged in an order of convenience, based to some extent on the complexity and frequency of forms. For the first several forms, the affirmative and negative are listed side by side for the sake of comparison; for the remaining forms, negatives either do not exist or are so rare that they need not be mentioned. It is very possible that other forms exist which are not listed, but in the light of the agglutinative character of the affixes such forms are not expected to show any particularly new types of arrangement. All the forms in this list are given for verbs with monosyllabic stems; additional lists of a few common forms of the other two tonal types of stems (see Chapter II, 3.1 above) are added. Most of the forms have pronouns before them, only for the sake of convenience.

AFFIX	AFFIRMATIVE		NEGATIVE, WITH *n-*	
(none)	*mídà*	I sleep	*mindá*	I don't sleep
...-*ì*	*midáì*	I slept	*mindáì*	I haven't slept (!)
á-	*maádà*	I have slept	*maandá*	I didn't sleep (!)
ri-	*orídà*	he's sleeping	*onní ndá*	he isn't (going to) sleep
bó-	*wobédà*	they will sleep		
kó-	*mikédà*	I go to sleep	*minkó ndá*	I don't go to sleep
ń-	*(ma) yênko*	Let's go	*mmá (mmá ma) yenkó*	Let's not go
a-	*mirikò fí'e na maabá.*		I'm going home and I'll be right back.	
dì	*na íyi' wodíyè íbèn adí.*		What do you do with this?	
fa-	*fa búùkú' yí' fókò fí'e.*		Take this book home.	
ribó-	*miribóko.*		I'm just about to go.	
rikó-	*mirikádì' gu'á.*		I'm going shopping.	
ḿbo-	*ma wómbura ḿbefa.*		Come and get it (of a meal).	
áko-	*waákedà.*		He's (*or* They've) gone to sleep.	
akó-	*mirikò akótò nám.*		I'm going to buy some meat.	
dìko	*odi nú-kéw díkesàn dú'a-nu nú-dù.*		He goes and hangs his hat on the tree.	
fáko	*fa sí'ka yí' fákotò edi'bán*		Take this money and go buy some food.	
bó...ì	*ìbaa há béyeè íbèn adí.*		What did you come here to do?	
kó...ì	*okori hó kótoò atár.*		He went there to buy a suit.	
dì...ì	*odi nú-kéw dísánì dú'a nú-dú.*		He hung his hat on the tree.	
fá...ì	*ofáà mí-sí'ka fótoò nsǎ.*		He took my money to buy liquor.	

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| (none) | *wofuré-wù dén.* | What's your name? | *onfuná.* | He doesn't get tired. |
| ...*ì* | *mikírèw kuráàtá.* | I wrote a letter. | *minfúnà.* | I'm not tired. |

| á- | *maáfùná déè.* | I'm awfully tired. | *maanfuná kuraa.* | I didn't get |
| ri- | *orikiréw.* | He's writing. | | tired at all. |

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(none)	*okásà fantí.*	He speaks Fanti.	*onkásà fantí.*	He doesn't speak Fanti.
...ì	*obi'sáà-mi.*	He asked me.	*ombi'sáà-mi.*	He hasn't asked me.
á-	*waápasàr.*	He's taken a walk.	*maampásàr.*	I didn't take
ri-	*orinántìw.*	He's walking.		a walk.

7.23. The above forms show the usual tone of verbs. There is, however, another entire set of verb tones which is used in subordinate constructions (see Chapter IV, 9). This second tone pattern is completely regular in its relation to the normal one assumed above, and can be very simply stated: any low tones before the first high tone in the above forms, including the tones of pronouns, change to high; any low tones following the first high tone change to mid; there are no low tones in any form in this pattern. This raised pattern need not be given for the entire list, but only illustrated:

mipe déè míboko.	I want to go.
miwo ani'da-dú déè óribá há.	I hope he's coming.
ma mírikä yí', ...	As the story goes (in folk stories).
abír áà óbaá há-nu, ohúnì' wá-agi'á.	When he came here, he saw your father.

7.3. In segments which include one or more breaks, verbs include primarily the negative forms included in the list above. Other sequences of two or more stems are more conveniently described as members of different syntactic constructions, and are discussed as verbs in series in Chapter IV, 7, below.

IV. THE SYNTAX

0. The syntax is the statement of all the positions in which each class of syntactic elements occurs. This is a more complete statement than the description of one distinctive position in which each class occurs, which was used to differentiate the classes, unless a given class occurs in only that one position. In describing the syntax, it would be possible to list all the positions of each class in order, with sub-classes treated under each class; however, such a description would involve a great deal of duplication, and would not be conducive to ready understanding of the features of arrangement. Accordingly, a different procedure is followed in this chapter. Complete utterances with the smallest number of elements and the simplest structure are described first, according to their different sentence types, and elements which are added to those sentence types in different ways are discussed later. Sections 1–5 are descriptions of the basic sentence types; sections 6–9 are descriptions of variations on these themes by the use of added elements.

1.0. **Exclamations** are utterances which consist of only one element, or of one element plus an utterance final particle. They are not necessarily "exclamations" in the traditional grammatical sense of the word, for they represent a wider range of usage than mere interjections.

1.1. Interjections, with or without utterance-final particles, are all exclamations, for they always occur in isolation. See Chapter III, 1.0–2.

1.2. Any other syntactic element except a verb with affixes, an utterance-final particle, or a conjunction, may occur in isolation as an exclamation. Some of these are exclamations in the more traditional sense of the word, and may be followed by the exclamatory utterance-final particles; others with the interrogative utterance-final particles form questions; and others, without utterance-final particles, are used primarily as citations or as answers to questions. E.g.,

afipá (u'ó).	Happy New Year!
ayìr-pá (u'ó).	Congratulations (on your marriage)!
émi á.	It's me.
ónu á.	It's him.
ónu e.	How about him?
nsú' a.	Water?
wána.	Who?
má-agi'á na mi-ná.	My father and mother. (e.g., in answer to "Who?")

2.0. **Questions,** including some of the above exclamations, are sentences of any type discussed in this chapter which contain either the utterance-final particle *a,* the conjunction *anée* in final position, or a noun which never occurs before the particle *a;* such nouns may be referred to as interrogatives.

2.1. Any affirmative sentence may be made into an interrogative sentence or a question by the addition of *a.* In many cases the conjunction *na* is also used at the beginning of the question, with a free variant *aná* in this construction only; occasionally *a* is omitted when these occur. Questions of choice may be formed by adding to a statement the conjunction *aneé* 'or...?' (sometimes

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anáa, and probably always so in some dialects); this is apparently an abbreviation of a complete statement of the choice (see 9.4 below).   There is no special tone contour for questions, and all questions which end in *a* end on a low tone, so that their contour is that of a normal English statement and the opposite of the English question contour.   E.g.,

aáfùná a.	Are you tired?
oríkò a. or *na oríkò a.*	Is he going?
na oyi'é déè míwi'e yé abír áà mídú'r fí'e a.	Isn't it O.K. if I finish it when I get home?
iríkò anée.	Are you going or what?

2.2. In questions formed with interrogative words, the construction may be identical with that of a corresponding statement.   However, with *wána* 'who?, which?' and the interrogatives formed with *ibèn* 'what kind of', the interrogative is usually placed initially and followed by {*na*}.   This is the common construction with these forms, but the unusual construction with non-interrogative nouns; these interrogatives occur much less commonly in the normal position of nouns, although they do occur there also.   This is only a statement of frequency, however; the opposite constructions do occur, and no statement can be made of possibilities which would differentiate interrogatives from other nouns syntactically.   E.g.,

wofuré-wù dén.	What is your name? (What do they call you?)
iríyè ibèn adí.	What are you doing?
ibèn adí na íbeyè kí'na.	What are you going to do tomorrow?
ibèn adí na yébadí'. or *ibèn adi'bán na yébadí'.*	What are we going to (have to) eat?
na ibèn adí na írihwihwe.	What do you want?
(na) ibèn abír na wowúù-wu.	When were you born?
ibèn agwú'ma na íyé.	What kind of work do you do?
na nfí ahín na húmawár.	How many years have you been married?
iwo mbá ahín.	How many children do you have?
iríkò hín. or *na ihín na írikó.*	Where are you going?
wána na ówo hó. or *wána á.*	Who's there?
oye wána.	Who is it?

3. **Nominal sentences,** containing no verb as one of the immediate constituents of the entire utterance, are extremely rare in the recorded materials.   However, judging from the few types that have occurred, it seems very possible that in informal conversations they are more common than is indicated by these materials.   Of the four sentences given below, three are paralleled with verbal sentences essentially identical with them.   No classification is attempted because of the rarity of the construction; the illustrations will have to speak for themselves.

   iyi' mí-niankú.   This is my friend.   Cf. *mí-niankú ní íyi'.*
   na ófì' há ko wú-kwá nkwansi'n ahín.   How far is it from here to your

farm? Cf. *ófì' há ko mpuanú oye nkwansí'n aduosi'á.* From here
to the shore it is sixty miles. (The verbs *fi* and *ko* in these sentences
are analyzed as part of the first element, not immediate constituents
of the entire construction; but compare 8.5 below.)

okwán-nu ahwiá ahwiá. The road is sandy. Cf. *okwán-nu ye mbubú
mbubú.* The road is rocky. (These two sentences occurred simul-
taneously while working with Mr. Mbura.)

anufuá kúr, sídèr edú'. One night, ten shillings. I.e., Ten shillings per
night.

4.0. Simple stative verbal sentences, those containing a minimum number of
elements, are of three types, each using different verbs.

4.1. Noun-Verb constructions occur with verbs such as *yi'é* 'be good', *mu'ó*
'be bad', *sú* 'be big, be big enough'.   E.g.,

oyi'é.	He's good. *or* It's O.K.
omu'ó.	He's no good.
mí-bodóm áà míwó-nu, oyi'é.	The dog I have is a good dog.
aburobé yí' áà mítón yí' oyi'é.	These are good pineapples that I sell.
nsú' áà wónúm wo há-nu omu'ó.	The water they drink here is bad.
míhũ yi'é wo há.	My health is good here.
nú-yá-mù' yi'é.	He's very generous.
na wú-kwá, osú anée ósù'a.	Is your farm large (or small)?
má-aka-tú'a yí' ósù'a.	My pay is small.
nú-dán sú ma.	His house is very large.

4.2. Noun-Verb-Noun constructions occur with the verbs *nì* 'be identical
with' and *ye* 'be described as'; Noun-Verb-Adjective constructions also occur
with *ye*.   E.g.,

oye íbèn adí. (or *íbèn adí á.*)	What is it?
adubé, odubí'n, odú'm, woye ndú'a ahurú.	The lumber palm, the mahogany, and the Iroko are different kinds of trees.
dán áà óti'ã abí'èn-nú oye nú-dí.	The second house is his.
nú-dán nì di aa óti'ã abí'èn.	His house is the second one.
mí-na-kú'ma nú-kú'n óni má-agi'a-kú'ma.	My father's younger sister's husband is my "younger-uncle".[13]
má-agi'á nú-foní'n nì íyi'.	This is a picture of my father.
kwan-pá áà wósì'-mú ye íyi' nì dén.	What is the best way to do this?
pápa áà ówo-mú' nì wána.	Which is the best of these?
íyi' nì di aa óyi'é.	This is the best.
asém áà ókaá-nu nú-así nì dén.	What was the meaning of what he said?
ihá ye fé.	This place is beautiful.
adi'bán yí', óyè hiw.	The food is hot.
mí-nsá áyè ngú ngú.	My hands are greasy.
onyé din.	It isn't hard.

[13] This sentence involves some of the complicated relation terms of Fanti, the second of
which is translated loosely here.   *ina-kú'ma* is one's father's younger sister or sister-in-law;
agi'a-kú'ma is one's father's younger brother or brother-in-law.

4.3. Noun-Verb-Noun constructions occur with all the other stative verbs. E.g.,

owo hó.	It's over there.
ománhín nú-dán wo hín.	Where is the paramount chief's house?
owo akí'r akí'r.	It's far away.
onní há.	It isn't here.
nku'ró akesí píì' nní sí'ka-mbíu-dù.	There aren't many big cities on the Gold Coast.
mití mpuanú.	I live at the shore.
oti baká-nu ná-akí'r.	He lives on the other side of the lake.
na wá-abusu'ã-fú ni'náara woti así a.	Is your family all living?
wá-agi'á ti así a.	Is your father living?
ńyi'èw. oti nú-mpó-mù'.	Yes, he's well.
kótó núhũ ti dén.	What does a crab (*or* lobster) look like?

5.0. Active verbal sentences are by far the commonest sentence type in Fanti. They are of three kinds, each of which uses a different sub-class of verbal stems. There is a considerable amount of intersection between these classes, however, Many verbal stems are used in two or more of the constructions, and it is likely that all active verbs may be used in the first construction, and that all used in the third may also be used in the second. Any of these constructions may be made into a command by omitting the actor noun and using a verb with no affixes; such a construction is rare in the first type, however, and perhaps never occurs with verbs that are not used in the other two constructions.

5.1. Actor-Action constructions are formed by a noun and a verb alone. Many of the verbs used in this construction are translated into English by "get" or "become" plus an adjective in the present, and by "be" plus an adjective in the perfect. It is important to remember, however, that these are not stative verbs in Fanti, even though they are translated by stative constructions in English. E.g.,

maáfùná.	I'm tired.
adí ásã̀.	It's evening.
akutú'-nu mbírì.	The orange isn't ripe.
busúm-nu ápù'éè.	The moon is out.
awí'-mù' rimu'ná.	It's getting cloudy.
waáfòn.	He's gotten thin.
abír ásã̀. or *abír ábèn.*	Time's up.
waábìn ma.	He's very clever.
nsú' áwìw.	The water has dried up.
adi'bán ábìn.	The food is done.
kúr tíĩ ákà.	There's only one left.
oríhì'm.	He's trembling. (as from a chill).
nsú'-nu ríhù'r.	The water is simmering. (at the boiling point.)
nsú'-nu rihuhú'r.	The water is boiling. (violently.)
má-aní' ákùm.	I'm sleepy.

nsú'-nu átìw.	It's stopped raining.
awí'-mù' aní' átìw.	The sky has cleared up.
mí-wiré áfì'r.	I've forgotten.
waákèr.	It's been a long time.

5.2. Actor-Action-Goal constructions are formed by the sequence Noun-Verb-Noun. Many of the verbs used in the Actor-Action constructions above do not occur in this construction, but some of them do.

orikásà fantí.	He's speaking Fanti.
iríyè ìbèn adí.	What are you doing?
mirikiréw kuráàtá.	I'm writing a letter.
miríkò gu'ó-mù'.	I'm going to the market place.
mirihwihwé adi'bán.	I want something to eat.
oríyè edi'bán.	She's doing the cooking.
ipe nsaáfu' a.	Do you like palm wine?
ma yánkwi'a nsaáfu' e.	Let's kill a bottle of palm wine, O.K.?
maátì wú-nkấ.	I've heard a lot about you.
oríbùr nú-bá.	He's whipping his child.
miríbò mí-módin.	I'm doing my best.
nfuramá ábò-nu.	He has a fever.[14]
mí-tí'r páà-mi. (or *mí-tí'r páà.*)	I have a headache.
miríkwèn-wu.	I'm waiting for you.
maáni'à múhũ.	I've gotten rich.
maábò ká.	I've incurred debt.
mirìtù' múhũ.	I'm drying myself.
worikásà ìbèn adí hấ.	What are they talking about?
worìkǔ ìbèn adí hấ.	What are they fighting about?
mí-kirá dìì' má-akí'r.	I was lucky.
oku'rá-mì.	I'm holding it.
maátìná mbiá mbiá ahurú abi'ásã.	I've lived in three different places.
dú'a yí' ósè dú'a-nu.	This tree is just like that one.
mí-nú'a ádì' nfí adú' awokwí.	My brother is eighteen.
obádì' anú'm.	He will be the fifth.
waábò dú' abí'èn.	It's twelve o'clock.
waábò (nnón) dú'.	It's ten o'clock.
na oyéè dén.	What did he do? *or* How did he do (it)?
(na úhum) woríyè dén.	What are you doing?
na ìbèn abír na wótú gu'ó-mù'.	When does the market close?

5.3. Actor-Action-Recipient constructions consist of a Noun-Verb-Noun sequence with a partially different group of verbs; this construction may be followed by an adjective with certain verbs, or by a goal noun with other verbs. The added adjective is rare. E.g.,

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[14] Many terms for diseases occur in this construction, but several others occur in a stative construction with *di*. The types of diseases seem to have nothing to do with the construction; the only determination is lexical. For some, both constructions occur; e.g., *awó di-nu.* or *awó ábò-nu.* 'He has a cold'. Compare also *ikóm di-mi.* 'I'm hungry'

ma-mi ìyi' kúr.	Give me one of these.
maátìw du, ma-mi daamba.	I've reduced the price; give me tuppence.
kiré-mì kwán-nu.	Show me the way.
wána súmà-wu há.	Who sent you here?
mimúnà-nu amunamúná, na amunamúná-nu áà mímuná-nu kótoò muná nú-mù'.	I sent him a watermelon, but the watermelon I sent him fell in a hole. (*a deliberate tongue-twister.*)
obi'sáà-mi má-asu'a-ádi hǘ nsém.	He asked me about my studies.
mikìrèw-nu kuráàtá tíntinntin.	I wrote him a long letter.
mí-yá-mù' ye-mi yáà.	My stomach aches.
wofuré-wù dén.	What do they call you?
mitu'á-nù ká.	I owe him a debt.
obóò-mi búsa.	He gave me a loan.
yebóò-nu pírù'.	We surprised him.
orikóbo nú-dán hwi'ró.	He's going to whitewash his house.

6. Any of the above constructions preceded by *déè* 'that, in order that' may follow most if not all of the same constructions. In some cases the segment beginning with *déè* is syntactically equivalent to a noun after the verb; in others it is added to the complete construction. Some of the verbs that precede have their usual meaning, and the translation is perfectly natural; in other cases, the verbs that precede have special meanings in this collocation, the most notable of which is *owo déè* 'it is necessary that'. With the following illustrations, a key is given to the construction preceding *déè*, by reference to the above sections; the cases in which the segment beginning with *déè* is substituted for a noun are not further marked, while those in which the full construction precedes *déè* are marked with an asterisk after the reference.

(4.1*)	*oyi'é déè óribá.*	It's O.K. that he's coming.
'4.2)	*owo déè míkó.*	I have to go.
	na owo déè ìgi'á awár wá-abusu'á-mù' a.	Do you have to marry in your own clan?
	onní déè míkó, na ḿbu'óm mibóko-ara sú.	I don't have to go, but I'm certainly going anyway.
	oti déè mí-nú'a.	He looks like my brother.
	idán yí' ti déè kofí' nú-dán, na nyé nú-dí bí' á.	This house looks like Kofi's, but it isn't his.
	akutú'-nu bébìŕ ikí'na sin déè ma waábìŕ ńda yí'.	The oranges will be riper tomorrow than they are today.
	miní'm̀ déè óbeba.	I know he'll come.
(4.2*)	*miwo ani'da-dú déè óbeba.*	I hope he'll come.
(5.1*)	*mígwìn déè óbeba.*	I think he'll come.
	misu'ró déè onní ntí así nkér.	I'm afraid he won't live much longer.

	abír-nu, mikáà déè ówo hó.	Then I remembered that it was over there.
	wótò déè wóyè adibón.	Sometimes they do wrong.
(5.2)	*ipe déè ínúm nsaáfu' a.*	Do you want (to drink) some palm wine?
	mipe nsaáfu', na mimpé déè míbú.	I'd like some palm wine, but I don't want to get drunk.
	ipe déè iní-mi kó a.	Do you want to go with me?
	mibépè déè míbeba há bí'ò.	I('ll) want to come here again.

(Some of the illustrations under 5.1* may also be classified here.)

(5.2*)	*obéni'à ahum-kắ déè óbohũ'-wu.*	He'll be glad to see you.
	obégi'à ná-aní' déè óbohũ'-wu.	He'll be glad to see you.
	miyéè má-agwín déè míkó ńde.	I made up my mind to go today.
	mifa-nu déè óbeba.	I assume that he'll come.
	na aburobé wó-sì'-nu déè na wófí'r.	How do pineapples grow?
	ohéè-nu déè ónye.	He forced him to do it.
	ohéè así déè óritú' amiri'ká.	He began to run.
	mí-wú'rà súmà-mi déè míboto páànú.	My master sent me here to buy bread.
(5.3)	*okáầ kírè-mi déè mímbura há.*	He told me to come here.
	kã kiré-nù déè ná-agi'á ambá.	Tell him his father didn't come.
	okírèw-mi déè mínko fí'e.	He wrote me that I should go home.
(5.3*)	*óyè-mi yáà déè waambá.*	I'm sorry he didn't come.

7.0. One of the most characteristic features of Fanti syntax, and therefore deserving of detailed treatment, is the use of series of verbs each of which occurs in one of the above constructions. In such series, the second verb usually, but not always, is not preceded by a noun or pronoun; the first noun of the sentence usually serves as the subject or actor for the series. Series of two verbs are the most common, but longer series occur with considerable freedom. Most if not all combinations of the types of construction listed above occur as either member in these series. One member of some of the series is used only in such a series, not as an independent verb. The following analysis is perhaps more detailed than necessary, but for convenience some types are listed separately because of their common occurrence. These series form the best illustrations of many of the verbal affixes. In the illustrations, each verb in the series is preceded by the mark ° for easier reference; the mark precedes an initial pronoun if one occurs.

7.1. Many active verbs occur in series freely; the series expresses consecutive actions. The most common expressions of this type use the verbs of motion, as *fi' . . . ko* 'come from . . .go to', *yi' . . . ba* 'come out of', etc. E.g.,

°woyìì'-nu °fìì' fi'á-di-nu.	They released him from prison.
°mifìì' si'ka-mbíu °baa há.	I came here from the Gold Coast.
idú'a-nu áà óbuù'-nú °ohwìì °okúầ'-nu.	The tree that broke fell on him and killed him.
°obóò núhũ módin °oyéè-nu yi'éé.	He did very well in his attempts.

°*mipéè* °*maátìná wo há.*   I enjoyed staying here.
°*minantíwì* °*páà nú-dán hú.*   I walked past his house.
okí-nu °*ókwi'à* °*tin hén-dán.*   The river flows by our house.
onní'm *kwán áà* °*óbasi' du*   He doesn't know any way to get to **Takoradi.**
      °*óboko tákòradí.*

°*oyéè* °*máà-mi.*   He did it (*or* He made it) for me.
°*ósòr* °*ma-mi.*   He prays for me.
°*mihí'á pòǹ dú'* °*midi ató adi'bán.* I need £10 to buy food.
      (In this case the second element is itself a series, see 7.6 below.)
na íbèn abír na wówi'a gu'á dí'.   When do they close the market?
      (Here *dí'* is a noun, verbal stem with high tone, not a verb.)

7.2. Some series have *ko* 'go' as the first verb, with the second having the prefix *ko-*, or *ba* 'come' as the first verb, with the second having the prefix *bo-*. These series replace some of the forms of the verb with which these prefixes do not occur.

     ma °*yénko* °*ńketìná wí'n-nu ná-así.* Let's go sit in the shade.
     na °*ikori hó* °*kéyeè dén.*   What did you go there to do?
     na °*iríkò hó* °*akéye dén.*   What are you going there to do?
     °*mikori hó* °*kétìnà hó dá kúr.*   I went there and stayed for a day.
     °*obaa há* °*bótoò ndiémba.*   He came here to do some buying.
     °*mibaa há* °*bósuaì'*   I came here to do some studying.

7.3. Series with the second verb having the consecutive prefix *a-* are quite common; in fact, this is the only construction in which this prefix occurs.

°*minní hwii* °*maakà.*   I don't have anything to say.
°*mirinántìw* °*ako nú-fí'e.*   I'm walking to his house.
°*mibóko* °*maakóbur.*   I'm going to go swimming.
°*mirikóbur* °*maakwi'a okí-nu.*   I'm going to swim across the river.
°*miríkò hó ki'na* °*maakétìná hó dá kúr.* I'm going there tomorrow to stay for a
                                           day.
°*mipe akutú' ohá* °*maató.*   I want to buy a hundred oranges.

7.4. Series consisting of an active and a stative verb occur, in which case the stative verbs is most commonly *wo* 'be located at', expressing the location at which the action takes place.

°*mihí'à-nu* °*wo nú-nú'a nú-fí'e.*   I met him at his brother's house.
°*woton adi'bán bí'ara* °*wo hó.*   They sell all kinds of food there.
atiná-mù' °*nyé din* °*wo si'ka-mbíu du.* Living is cheap on the Gold Coast.
°*miyéè agwú'ma* °*wo nkiran.*   I worked in Accra.
na ígwìn déè °*obókwi'à-mu'* °*wo há a.* Do you think he'll pass by here?
na °*ipí'rà* °*wo hín.*   Where did you hurt yourself?
hen °*yéyè kúr* °*wo biríbi'ara hú.*   We agree about everything.

7.5. The verb *tú'm̀* 'to be able' occurs frequently as the first member of a series. Constructions with *ni'm̀* 'to know (how to)' seem similar in some respects, but a verbal stem after *ni'm̀* always has nominalizing tone and is therefore a noun.

na °ibótu′m̀ °así′ mpuanú °fi′ tákòradí °akó nkiran a.	Can you go along the shore from Takoradi to Accra?
kwasí′ m̀pu′ó °tú′m̀ °ye.	Even Kwesi can do it.
°wontú′m̀ iní-hon °nyé hwii.	You can't do anything with them.
Cf. oní′m̀ síkán síw ma.	He's an expert at sharpening knives.

7.6. Series of which the first member is *di* 'take, hold, use', or *fa* 'take', are perhaps the most common verbal series in Fanti. The stem *di* is stative, *fa* is active; there seem to be other differences as well, roughly that *di* refers to picking up or using something that is one's own or near at hand, while *fa* refers to taking something offered or named especially with the purpose of moving it. This is not an ironclad definition, however.

na íyi′ °wodí °ye ibèn adí.	What does one do with this?
°midi má-aní′wa abí′èn yí′ °húnì′.	I saw it with my own two eyes.
°wodi birú′ °fi′ áràta °ba há.	They bring coal here from Lagos (Nigeria).
se °idi ki′etéké °fi′ tákòradí °ríkò nkiran a, °íkwi′à-mu °wo takwá, kumáasi, ani′ná-asi, ansá̃ na idu′r nkiran.	If you take a train from Takoradi to Accra, you pass through Tarkwa, Kumasi, and Enyinasi before you get to Accra.
°odi nfoní′n °ásàn bán-nu núhũ.	He's hung a picture on the wall.
°midi akédi °kémaà mí-niankṹ.	I took a present to my friend.
dátír-nu °di adikikirí °túù mí-nán du.	The doctor put a bandage on my foot.
°fa igu′á-nu °fásì′ pún-nu nú-nkén.	Put the chair at the table.
°fa nsú′-nu °fókù′ kwansá-nu nú-mù′.	Put the water in the pot.
°fa °tuu há.	Put it here.
°waáfà núhũ °ádì′.	He's free.
°fa dáàgú-nu tuu ábúu-nu nú-mù′.	Padlock the door.
°minní ntú′m̀ °nfá °mbá.	I can't bring it.

7.7. The verb *ker* 'to be a long time' occurs commonly as the second verb in a series; it also occurs alone, but less frequently.

°otínà há °kérì.	He stayed here a long time.
°okori °ákèr.	He went a long time ago.
°mibúrì °ákèr ma.	It's been a long time since I've been swimming.
na nsú′-nu °waátò °ákèr a.	Has it been raining long?
°minní ntú′m̀ °nkwén °nkér.	I can't wait any longer.

7.8. The verb form *képìm* 'go up to, until' is used only as the second element in a series.

°mikasáà háusa °képìm abír áà mídì′ nfi awokwí. I spoke Hausa until I was eight.

7.9. The verb-noun *ápà hṹ* 'has passed' is used only as the second element in a series, of time only.

°waábò nnon-esi′á̃ °ápà hṹ míniti adu′asá̃. It's 63:0.

7.10. The verb form *béye* 'will be' is used with the meaning 'about, approximately' as the second element of a series.

<blockquote>

°*waákò* °*béye dapén.*   He's been gone about a week.

°*waádì' nfí* °*béye adú'.*   He's about ten.

</blockquote>

7.11. The verb-noun *da hṹ* is used in the meaning 'still' as the first element of a series.

°*mida hṹ* °*ko hó dábaa.*   I still go there often.

°*miwo akiréba baasã́* °*woda hṹ* °*ti así.* I have three sisters still living.

na se ikí'na °*oda hṹ* °*ye-mi yáà bí'ò a,* If it still gives me pain tomorrow, I'll
    °*mibókò* °*maakóhṹ' dátír bí'ò.* go see the doctor again.

7.12. The verbs *kin* and *sin* 'surpass' are used as the second element of a series in the meaning 'than'.

<blockquote>

míhũ̃ °*ye din* °*kin-nu.*   I'm stronger than he is.

</blockquote>

7.13. A few series of verbs are composed of elements so commonly used together, and not often with other syntactic elements separating them, that they at least have the status of separate lexical elements.

°*kã* °*kiré-nu.*   Tell him.

minní asém bí'ara áà °*míbekã́* °*akiré-nù.* I don't have anything to tell him.

°*okáà wúhũ asém ni'náara* °*kírè-mi.*   He told me all about you.

°*tuu* °*kin.*   Throw it away.

°*tuu kuráàtá-nu* °*kin.*   Throw the paper away.

°*mingi'é* °*ndí'.*   I don't believe it.

°*so* °*hwe.*   Taste it (to see if it's allright).

°*orísò* °*ahwé se nkwán ábìn a.*   She's tasting to see if the soup is done.

°*orísò nkwán* °*ahwé.*   She's tasting the soup.

8.0. Adverbs and temporal noun expressions, along with a few other constructions, are added to the above constructions initially or finally as described below.

8.1. True adverbs are of two kinds; the first are used after any word for emphasis. E.g.,

nú-bú ye dín dúdù.   It's too expensive.

nsú' dúdù wo-mú'.   There's too much water in it.

mipe-nu dúdù.   I like it very much.

se mini'áà adagír m̀pu'ó a, nke minní nyé. Even if I had had the chance, I
                                               wouldn't have done it.

ondíì' nfí dú' m̀pu'ó.   He's not even ten years old.

ónu m̀pu'ó tú'm̀ ye.   Even he can do it.

8.2. Other adverbs, along with a few adjectives and noun constructions, occur after a verbal construction. Final nominal constructions included in the sections below are not included here.

ósè-nu kuraa.   It's just like him.

onyé din kuraa.   It isn't hard at all.

mipa-wu kéw, si dú bí'ò.	Please say it again.
minní nkó hó bí'ò.	I'll never go there again.
onyé-mì yáà bì'ò.	It doesn't hurt any more.
na aákò aburo-kí'r da.	Have you ever been abroad?
maákò hó dábaa.	I've been there often.
mbógi'á-nu ogi'áà bá ntámara.	The bleeding stopped right away
irikásà ntám dúdù.	You're speaking too fast.
kásà bokoo.	Speak more slowly.
miyéè agwú'ma díndinndin.	I worked very hard.
yehéè-nu ahúrùbá agur-dí'-mù.	We cussed him out just for fun.
mihí'à-nu awire-fí'r-mù' wo akwán-nu nú-dù.	I met him unexpectedly on the road.
nántìw yi'é é.	Goodbye.
wónda yi'é é.	Goodnight (*to several persons*).

8.3. Temporal noun constructions are used initially or finally to indicate the point of time at which an action occurs. For the initial construction, compare also 9.1 below.

na iríkò fí'e síasi'aara a.	Are you going home soon?
irihwihwé adidí' síasi'aara a.	Do you want to eat right now?
síasi'aara sú ku'ró-nu áyè purompurom.	Now too the country is prosperous.
síasi'aara minní nyé biríbi'ara. or *minní nyé biríbi'ara síasi'aara.*	I'm not doing anything right now.
mibóhù'-wu kí'na.	I'll see you tomorrow.
mibóhù'-wu gwúda.	I'll see you Monday.
yeribadidí' nnon-asi'ã́.	We'll eat at six.
mikiréw-nù dapén bí'ara. or *dapén bí'ara mikiréw-nù.*	I write him every week.
mibépè déè míbetiná há dá bí'.	I want to live here some day.
má-agi'á na mí-ná wobaa há abír-nu.	My father and mother were here then.
mipéè déè óbá dapén áà ába sín-nu nú-mù'.	I wanted him to come last week.
yebaa há nfí enú'm áà ába sín yí'. or *yebaa há nfì enú'm áà ákwi'á-mu' yí'.*	We came here five years ago.
nki'etéké-nu ótù' nnón abí'èn.	The train leaves at two.
mibéba há kí'na anapá nnón dú'.	I'll be here tomorrow morning at ten.
oye hiw nde. or *nde oye hiw.*	It's hot today.
nde sú oye hiw.	It's hot again today.
dapén dá-nu mikéyeè há.	I went hunting last week.
dapén áà óribá-nu miríkò pu.	I'm going fishing next week.
nde da mikori hó. or *mikori hó nde da.*	I went there yesterday.
(abír áà) mífìì' fí'e-nu nsú'-nu ohéè así déè óritó.	Just as I left the house it started to rain.
abír bí'ara mikori hó-nu, mihúnì'-nu.	Every time I went there I saw him.

abír áà mí-nsá káà kuráàtá-nu misíì'-mú ntémara.	I started as soon as I got the letter.
mígwìn déè ikí'na biríbi'ara béyè yi'éé.	I think it'll be all better tomorrow.

8.4. Temporal expressions are used after a verbal construction to indicate the duration of time; a point of time expression may follow them.

otínà igu'á-nu nú-dù nfí pii'.	He ruled for many years.
mbétìná nki'etéké-nu nú-mù' ndonhwír anán.	I'll be on the train for four hours.
miye agwú'ma ndonhwír awokwí dábaa.	I work eight hours a day.
otínà há busúm abi'ásã.	He stayed here three months.
miyéè agwú'ma wo nkiran nfí asu'ón.	I worked in Accra for seven years.
mibókwèn (wo há) donhwír kúr.	I'll wait one hour.
nsú'-nu waátò ndonhwír abí'èn.	It's been raining for two hours.
mindáà ndá abí'èn.	I haven't slept for two days.

8.5. Similar noun constructions expressing the extent or amount of something other than temporally occur in the same position.

midi-nu ká póǹ dú'.	I owe him ten pounds.
mihwihwé páànú simpúa bí'ásã.	I want nine pence worth of bread.
nke míkò hó mpén abi'ásã afí bí'ara. or *nke míkò hó afí bí'ara mpén abi'ásã.*	I used to go there three times a year.
mibókwèn kakurá.	I'll wait a little.
waábù así kakurá a.	Has it calmed down a little?

9.0. Conjunctive constructions are the immediate constituents of segments occurring between two full stops, or, at the other extreme of syntactic levels, constructions which may be substituted for a single element. Most of the former may be and all of the latter are introduced by conjunctions. Assuming that any of the constructions described above may be used as a complete utterance or an immediate constituent of such an utterance, this section will be confined to constructions which occur with the above; most of these are bound constructions.

9.1. A suspended comment is an initial construction, followed by pause or only by a break, which anticipates one of the elements of the following construction, replaces such an element, or is entirely independent of the construction. Such suspended comments may include initial temporal noun constructions expressing point of time, which may also occur finally; these have been discussed and illustrated in 8.3 above, and will not be further elucidated here, except to say that they are of the type which replaces a later element. The element anticipated is usually the subject or actor, occasionally the object or goal. Independent elements include bound phrases such as *anhwé a* 'perhaps', *ótò fa bí' a* 'sometimes', and verbal constructions followed by *ńti'*, giving the reason for what follows. Nouns in this construction may be preceded by the conjunction *na*.

na abáatan-nu, owo déè wóbà sukú'ŕ dán-nu nú-mù' nnon-awokwí.

The parents are expected to be at the school house at eight o'clock.

na ikéw yi', wú-di ni wána.   Which of these hats is yours?

ofu'n-dáká-nu ibi', wodi ayiwá na wodiyè, ibi sú, wodi táàbú na wodiyè.

Some coffins are made of brass, others of wood.

wá-asém-ara áà irikǎ yi' ni'náara, miti, na mbu'óm minti-wù asi.

I hear all you're saying, but I don't understand you.

nku'ro-fú yi' hón-mburá, minti asi. or *minti nku'ro-fú yi' hón-mburá asi.*

I don't understand the customs of these people.

anhwé a, mibóko.   Perhaps I'll go.

anhwé a, nsú' bótò.   It may rain.

nku'ro-fú pii' wo hó-nu nti', mikori fi'e.

There were a lot of people there, so I went home.

nde da nsú' tôi nti', mitinà fi'e.   Yesterday it was raining, so I stayed home.

The frequent cases of verbs with pronouns after the nominal subject or actor belong essentially in this same construction.

9.2. Another type of suspended comment is an initial nominal construction followed by *na*. This has already been alluded to in a discussion of interrogatives in 2.2 above. It is the common construction for interrogatives which refer to any nominal element in the following construction, including temporal constructions, and it is sometimes used in anticipation of the subject or object. In the latter case, the whole construction has the force of "... it is that...".

imi nkutunoo na miwo hó.   I was the only one there.

má-agi'á na óbai.   It was my father who came.

biribi'ara nyé-nu. kóm na odi-nu.   There's nothing wrong with him; he's just hungry.

ibèn adi na ibeyé awi'-mu'-bi'r-nu.   What are you going to do this evening?

See also 2.2 above for further cases of interrogatives. It is very possible that the conjunction *na* in these constructions is morphemically and historically not {*na*} at all, but the demonstrative suffix {*-nú*} plus the relative conjunction {*áà*}; there is no phonemic indication of this, however. There is also one syntactic objection to this analysis; all of these constructions would then be nominal sentence types, the immediate constituents being the initial noun plus {*-nú*} and the rest of the utterance beginning with {*áà*}. Such a sentence type, however, has no parallel (see 3 above).

9.3. The conjunction *na* is used to introduce a coordinate construction. Its use between nouns and between adjectives has already been noted, as well as its use at the beginning of questions and before or after a suspended comment. Its meaning as a clause-coordinator is 'and then' or 'but'. The conjunction *na mbu'óm* 'but even, but yet' may be grouped with it, because its use is the same; the combination *na sú* 'and also' also occurs.

sina durúba-nu na pam tém-nu.   Thread a needle and mend the cloth.

mipe déè miwař na miba há bi'ò.   I want to get married and come back here.

*mipe déè mitiná aburo-ki'r, na mipe   I like to live abroad, but I prefer
abibiri'-mù tina sin ónu.*   living in Africa.

miní-wu bóko, na mipe déè mídidí' wí'e.	I'll go with you, but I want to eat first.
itú'm̀ kinkán na kiréw fantí a.	Can you read and write Fanti?
waásù'ã́ fantí nfí abí'èn, na su ontú'm̀ nkásà.	He's been studying Fanti for two years, but he still can't speak it.
maáyè ndiémba pii' ámà-wu, na owo déè wú-su íyé yí' ma-mi.	I've done a lot for you, so you ought to do this for me.
mí-nú'a kúr ti fí'e, na kúr-nu sú ti gu'aá.	One of my brothers lives at home, the other in Cape Coast.
oyéè agwú'ma díndinndin, na m̀bu'óm wantú'm̀ anéǹ ná-abusu'ã́.	He worked hard, but he still couldn't support his family.
miwo ani'da-dú déè óbeba, na su mí-wíre nní'm.	I hope he'll come, but I'm not sure.
igi'á-nu ádù'm, na m̀bu'óm oda hṹ rípù'm wúsú.	The fire has gone out, but it's still smoking.
iku'ró yí' yi'é, na m̀bu'óm wonní sení wo há.	This town is O.K., but they don't have any movies.
minantíwì donhwír kúr, na ná-akí'r-nu migi'éè má-ahúm.	I walked for an hour, and then I rested.
wowúù-mi wo si'ka-mbíu dù, na míndo-mù' da.	I was born on the Gold Coast, and I've never been anywhere else.

9.4. The conjunction *anée* (or freely *anáa*) 'or' is used to coordinate single elements or whole constructions. With whole constructions it is used usually if not always in questions. The combination *anée sú* 'or else, or also' also occurs.

owo adán abi'ásã̃ anée anán.	He has three or four houses.
minní sí'ka anée sú adi'bán.	I have neither money nor food.
mibémà-wu m̀pùa anée sú akutú'.	I'll give you a banana or an orange.
na opi'rá-wù bí'ò anée.	Does it still hurt?
na oye abofurá anáa oye paní'n.	Is he young or old?
na oye bibiní' anée (oye) buro-ní'.	Is he an African or a European?

9.5. The subordinating conjunction *ma* usually expresses purpose or result, but is used also after constructions expressing a lack. It always occurs after the head construction. A following verb often has the prefix {*a-*}. There is little doubt but that this conjunction is morphemically the verb {*ma*} 'to give', but it is considered a conjunction because of its special uses.

ákà akúrà ma waadu'r hó.	He's almost there.
ákà akúrà ma abír abén.	Time's almost up.
ákà akúrà ma maawi'é.	I'm almost finished.
abír-nu áà miní kwakú' atá kóbúr-nu, nke ákà kítikiti ma ipu afá-mì.	When I went swimming with Kweku-Atta, I almost drowned.
onní nkér bí'ara ama ma hén-hũ̃ aye dín akin-hon.	We'll soon be stronger than they are.
oyéè ma waani'a sí'ka.	He did it to make money.
oyéè agwú'ma ma waatú'm̀ waanéǹ ná-abusu'ã́.	He worked to support his family.
mipa-wu kéw kiré-mì ma míbasi' áà míboko wúfí'e.	Please tell me how to get to your home.

na omáà ma mbógi'á-nu gi'áà bá a.	Did it stop the bleeding?
má-aní' ákùm ma ma mírikedá síasi'aara.	I'm so sleepy that I'm going to bed right now. (The first *ma* is an adverb, 'very much'.)
maáfùná ma ma owo déè mígi'é má-ahúm.	I'm so tired that I'll have to rest.
adi aa ókaá kírè-mi íti' máà ma mikori.	I went because of what he told me.
ohéè-mi ma miyéì. or *omáà-mi ma miyéì.*	He made me do it.
mirikédìdá kwakú', na mmá úhum nyé déde bí'ara ma onni'án-nù.	I'm going to put Kweku to bed, so don't make any noise to wake him up.

9.6. The conjunction *nke* occurs with an independent verbal construction, usually when there is also a subordinate or coordinate clause. Before the present tense it means 'it used to be that'; before the verbal prefix {*ri-*} it means 'it was about to be that'; before other tenses and when a subordinate or coordinate construction is included in the sentence, it means 'it would have been that'. Note the common construction *mí-yá-mù' a nke* 'I hope'.

nke míyè.	I used to do it.
nke miríyè.	I was about to do it.
nke mibéyè. or *nke maáyè* or *nke miyéì.*	I would have done it.
ìmi ní ìwu a, nke miyéì.	If I were you, I would have done it.
nke mibéye, na manni'á adagír.	I'd have done it, but I didn't get a chance.
nke oye agwú'ma wo ná-agi'á nú-kwǎ-nu nú-mù'.	He used to work on his father's farm.
nke iríyè ìbèn adì síasi'aara.	What were you doing just now?
nke obéba ńde da, na ómbaì.	He was going to come yesterday, but he hasn't come yet.
nke ákà akúrà maakwi'a mí-nán tín.	Just a little more and I would have cut off my toe.
se mini'áà sí'ka áà ósũ a, nke anhwé a mikori.	If I'd had enough money, perhaps I would have gone.
mí-yá-mù' a nke onní mbá.	I hope he won't come.
mí-yá-mù' a nke mí-sú mibótu'm̀ aye di aa óyé-nu.	I wish I could do what he does.
mí-yá-mù' a nke nsú' nní ntó.	I hope it won't rain.

9.7. Constructions introduced by the conjunction *áà* 'who, which' are usually substitutable for a single syntactic element, normally an adjective. However, these relative expressions may also be used in other places in an utterance, not necessarily near the head noun. Constructions introduced by *di aa* 'that which' (varying with the normal *adì aa*) and *ni'a* 'he who' are substitutable for nouns; *ni'a* is perhaps related to *oní' áà* 'the one who'. Like adjectives and nouns, these constructions may be followed by a demonstrative.

ndá áà óti'ã kúr miyérì.	I got sick the first day.
iti adì áà mípé déè ìyé yí' ná-así a. or *di aa mípé déè ìyé yí' iti así a.*	Do you understand what I want you to do?
ìyi' ní kwǎ kesí áà owo si'ka-mbíu du ni'náara.	This is the largest farm on the whole Gold Coast.

ni'a waákò sukú'r̂-nu owo kwán pii'ára   A man who has been to school has many
    áà óbesi'-mù' waáni'á núhũ.   opportunities to get rich.

9.8. Subordinate constructions placed either before or after the head construction are introduced by the conjunctions *se … a* 'if, when', *kánsã́ … a* 'even if, although', *osi'án̂ déè* 'because', and *ansã́ na* 'before'. {*se*} is sometimes omitted, with the final {*a*} remaining. Compare also the initial temporal construction beginning with *abír̂ áà* and ending with the suffix {*-nu*}, in which *abír̂ áà* may be omitted.

se óbà a, mibóko fí'e.	When he comes I'll come home.
se aambá a, nú-bú bófù'.	If you don't come, he'll be angry.
se miwi'é a, míkò fí'e.	When I'm finished, I go home.
se ini'a adagír a, íyè dén.	What do you do in your spare time?
se mini'a adagír a, mibóko.	I'll go as soon as I can.
mididí' wi'é a, miní-wu bóko.	I'll go with you when I'm through eating.
se ikér̂ì míniti adú' a, nke inní ntúù-mi.	If you had come ten minutes later, you wouldn't have met me.
owo déè míkó fi'á-adi, na se miwi'é a, mirikóbur.	First I have to go to the store, and when that's over I'm going swimming.
na se ódì' nfì anú'm a, obóko sukú'r̂.	(And) when he's five, he's going to go to school.
kánsã́ waambá ḿpu'ó a, mibóko.	Even if he doesn't come, I'll go.
mipe déè mítiná si'ka-mbíu du, osi'án̂ déè oye awó dúdù wo aburo-kí'r.	I prefer to live on the Gold Coast, because it's too cold in Europe.
oni'a núhũ pii', osi'án̂ déè oyéè agwú'ma díndinndin.	He got rich because he worked hard.
mihúnì'-nu ansã́ na oríhṹ'-mi.	I saw him before he saw me.
ansã́ na míbaà há-nu, mitíì aburo-kí'r.	Before I came here I lived abroad.
ansã́ na íboko-nu, mipe déè miní-wu di' nkomó.	I want to talk to you before you go.
na ókèr ansã́ na idu'r hóa.	How long does it take you to get there? *or* Does it take you long to get there?
owo déè iwi'é adí áà íriyé ansã́ na aakó.	You have to finish what you're doing before you go.
nki'etéké-nu ókèr ansã́ na waadu'r hó a.	How long does the train take to get there? *or* Does it take long to get there by train?
wohṹ' besí'a hṹ ansã́ na wotuu mpá-nu.	They (make sure they) see the woman before they make the bed. (A proverb, "Don't count your chickens before they're hatched".)

APPENDIX

Texts

The following are illustrations of connected discourse in Fanti. All of them were obtained from Mr. Mbura. The nature and occasion of each is briefly described, and the text and translation follows. The translations are not slavishly literal, but enough of the Fanti order of clauses and phrases is preserved to make possible a ready comparison with the text. It was impossible to check the translations with Mr. Mbura in detail, and some questions as to translation remain. These are noted in footnotes.

1. Making a canoe

This brief account was dictated impromptu in response to a question as to how canoes are made. The slowness of dictation may have resulted in some rather unnatural transitions from sentence to sentence. The use of the English word "paint" does not necessarily indicate that Fanti has no word (perhaps borrowed) for that item, but merely that the English word came more readily to Mr. Mbura's mind at the moment.

ma wósì' wóyè hemá yí' nì, wókwi'à odú'm anéesu oni'aá, na wóhìw-nu ama nú-mù' ye dónkuroon. na se wowi'é a, wodi aku'má dísì'án hemá-nu. se wowi'é yí' a, wodi hemá-nu ko mpuanú, na hó-nu wókǎ núhũ paint, ná sú wótù-nu dí'n. se wowi'é ìyi' nú-ni'náara a, wóhè así déè wódì ko pu.

The way they make a canoe is, they cut down an Iroko or a Silk-cotton tree, and they burn it (out) to make it deep inside. When this is done, they take an axe and carve it (into the shape of) a canoe. When this is done, they take the canoe to the shore, and there they paint it and give it a name. When all this is done, they begin to use it to go fishing.

2. Elmina castle

The following conversation was held with Mr. Mbura in an imaginary situation in which he talks with a visitor to the Gold Coast. Mr. Mbura's speech is marked by the initial M.; the visitor's remarks, checked for accuracy with Mr. Mbura, are marked by the initial W.

M. *ana aáhù' idiná abán-nu a.*

W. *óù'hó. kã núhũ nsém kiré-mì.*

M. *osũ u'ó. oye abasá-mù' béye aduasi'ã tíntin, nú-tátar-mù' sú oye abasá-mù' béye adu'asã, na adán pii' wo-mú', na sú pirám pii' sìsì' abán nú-dù.* Portugese— *fú aburofú-nu na wosìì' nfì béye ahá anán ábesin yí' nú-mũ'. wodi abú sìì'. osi' mpuanú hó ára, na se idi wusu'-hén ba sí'ka-mbìu du a, ibótù'm ahũ' dem abán yí' wo pú-mù' hó.*

W. *na woda hũ ye ndiémba wo-mú' a.*

M. *ńyi'èw.* Postoffice *dán-nu wo-mú', ná sú síasi'aara oye ahohudán ma ńgìrasi' aburofú-nu. ńgìrasi' aburofú-nu nú-mù' bí'-num, se woma-hon kwán a, wokági'à hón-ahúm wo idiná abán-nu nú-mù'.*

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M. Have you ever seen the Elmina castle?

W. No, tell me about it.

M. It's huge. It's about 360 feet long, its breadth is about 180 feet, and there are a lot of rooms in it, and a lot of cannon on the walls. It was the Portuguese who built it, about four hundred years ago. It is made of stone. It is right on the shore, and if you come to the Gold Coast by boat, you can see it from the sea.

W. Do they still use it?

M. Yes. The Postoffice is in it, and now it is (primarily) a hotel for the English. Some of the English, when they have vacations, go and rest up in the Elmina castle.

3. Betrothal and Marriage

This account of the betrothal arrangements leading up to marriage was dictated impromptu by Mr. Mbura. After hearing it read, he remarked that the phrase *na se wowi'é yí' a* 'and when they finish this', and similar expressions, are more frequent than they would be in normal uninterrupted narrative.

se aburéntie óhŭ' akatá-si'a ópè ná-asém a, ókã kiré ná-awúfu déè akatá-si'a yí' mipe déè míwàr-nu, anéesu húm-gi'à-nu yír ma-mi. na se owi'é a, ná-awúfu-nu kóbo akatá-si'a-nu ná-abúu-mù'. na ntiasí nní íyi', na wombó akatá-si'a ná-abúu-nu nú-mù' bí', na ná-awúfu na wosiré-hòn. na ansã na wóbobu'éè hón-anú-nu nú-mù'-nú, owo déè wódì nsã si' pún-nu nú-dù. na nsã yí' wofuré-nù ití'r nsã. na se wowi'é hón-asém kã a, akatá-si'a-nu ná-awúfu-nu kã déè wobógwìn hŭ. dem asém yí' wodítù' hón-abasi'ába-nu ná-aní'm, na se ónu sú ope aburéntie yí' a, nsé na ndiémba atútò-mú'.[1] na afí', adi aa waákà déè wóyè ní yí', owo déè awaí-di ósù-mu' póòn asu'ón na sídèr anán, aburéntie-nu ná-awúfu wotu'á.[2] na se wowi'é yí' a, adi aa waákà ní déè wohi'á-hòn. na se wowi'é a, na ábà éfúr-nu[3] waáyè kú'n na yír.

When a young man sees a girl and wants her, he tells his parents, "I want to marry this girl", or, "You get her to be a wife for me". When this is done, his parents go and 'knock on the girl's door'.[4] But in reality it isn't that, and they don't knock on the girl's door at all, but her parents are the ones they ask. And before they open their mouths (to say a word), they have to put some wine on the table. This wine is called 'head wine'.[5] Now when they are through explaining their business, the girl's parents say that they will think it over. So they discuss the matter in the presence of their daughter. If she likes the young man too, then everything is all set.[1] And now what they do is this—the bridal gift must be worth seven pounds four shillings—the young man's parents pay (it).[2]

[1] The translation of this phrase is uncertain.

[2] The structure of this sentence seems to be as indicated in the translation, but the translation may be wrong.

[3] The petrified phrase *ábà éfúr*, literally 'has come new', is given in the meaning 'novice'; the translation 'young people' seems to fit better here, and probably 'novice' covers a narrower range of meaning than this phrase.

[4] This is apparently a technical expression, with the literal meaning denied and the figurative meaning explained in the following sentence.

[5] For some reason not explained by Mr. Mbura. This is a translation of the words.

And when this is done, what comes next is that they are 'introduced'.[6] When this is done, then the young people are husband and wife.

4. How Wisdom came to be spread throughout the world

This and the following text are folk tales about Kweku Ananse (Kweku the Spider), the mischievous, whimsical subject of an almost unlimited series of stories, who is always the victim of his own unconscious stupidity. These stories end with a statement to the effect that thus is explained the fact that spiders walk on the ceiling. However, other versions do not include this ending, and some of the stories have an additional purpose in giving the mythical origins of various circumstances (as the first does). In some versions very practical morals and proverbs close the stories. This story of how wisdom came to be spread throughout the world seems to be one of the most popular of the Ananse stories, and at different times I have heard at least four versions of it from Mr. Nkrumah and Mr. Mbura. The versions differ in details such as the container in which Kweku put the wisdom, where he hid it, and how it came to be broken. The essential element remains the same, however; by trying to confine wisdom in a container and monopolize it, Kweku didn't have enough left for himself to take care of it, and by his stupidity broke the container so that the wisdom was scattered everywhere.

mbír áà ákwi'à-mú' kor-nu, nke ni'ánsã̃ [ni'náara áà owo wi'a-ádi-mu']⁷ wo kwakú' ánàansĩ ku'ró-mù'. na kwakú' ampé déè obí'ara bóhã̀' ni'ánsã̃ kin ónu. deḿ ńti', kwakú' ánàansĩ héè asì déè orígwin ma óbasi' áà óbayì' ni'ánsã̃ afi' núku'ró-mù' hó, ama ná-ankútiĩ aye niansafú wo hó. na afí' yí' agwín yí' síì' nú-tí'r-mù'. íbèn adi ńti' na minfá ni'ánsã̃ yí' minfá ngú' kútuu'-mù', na minsí'w anú na minfá nsi'é. ma mírikã̃ yí', kwakú' ánàansĩ kobóò kútuu' na okikírì ni'ánsã̃ ni'náara digúù'-mú', na osìwì' kútuu'-nu ná-anú. na afí' yí' osisáã̀ ná-agwín, na ḿbu'óm okefáà hemá disìì'-mu'kor ku'bé-nu áà ósi' okí-nu nú-mù'-nú. ná-agwín ní yí', se midi kútuu' yí' díhè fá-mù' a, anhwé a obí' bópusì' dú ama waani'a ni'ánsã̃. na ḿbu'óm, se midi késàn ku'be-mburákata-nu nú-mù' a, obí'ara nú-nsá nní nkã̃̀. ńti' odi ahumá dikikírì kútuu'-nu ná-anú, na ohéè así déè orífù ku'bé-nu. ma mírikã̃ yí', kwakú' di nkakáàkúrà dirífù, na oripátìr. na afí' yí', abír áà ótìn nú-nsá-nu déè ódi kútuu'-nu bómuntàn mburákata-nu, opatírì ma nke ákà kúrà ma waahwi fá-mù'. ńti' oyéè ntámara di nú-nsá abí'èn disúù ku'bé-nu nú-mù', na abír áà óyeè deḿ yí', kútuu'-nu patírì nú-nsá kohwíì hemá-nu nú-mù', ma opapáài. na ni'ánsã̃-nu áà ówo kútuu'-nu nú-mù'-nú pitíì̩ wi'a-ádi ni'náara-mù'. deḿ ńti' na ńde ni'ánsã̃ wo wi'a-ádi-mù'-nú. na kwakú' ánàansĩ óhunì adi aa waásì yí', ni'áà aní'-tṹ kesínara. deḿ ńti' na ńde ánàansĩ ófàm ntar-dú yí'. awi'é.

A long time ago, [all the] wisdom[in the world] was in the country of Kweku Ananse (the Spider). And Kweku didn't want anyone to see the wisdom

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[6] This is the common term used for the introduction of two strangers; it has the specialized meaning of bringing together the two parties to a marriage in the ceremony.

[7] The phrase in brackets, 'all that was in the world', did not occur in the narration at the time this was recorded, but is supplied from memory from the several other narrations I have heard but not recorded; it is included because it adds to the situation an element that otherwise would have to be assumed.

except himself. So Kweku Ananse began to think how he would go about taking the wisdom out of his country so that only he would be a wise one there. And finally this thought came into his head: "Why don't I take this wisdom and put it in a pot, and seal the mouth and bury it?" Well, Kweku Ananse made a pot and tied up all the wisdom and put it inside, and sealed the mouth of the pot. And then he changed his mind, and took a canoe instead, and set out to go to the coconut palm that was in the middle of the river. His idea was this: "If I take this wisdom and put it in the ground, perhaps someone will stumble over it and get the wisdom; but if I take it and hang it in the branches of the coconut palm, no one will ever touch it." So he took a rope and tied it to the neck of the pot, and began to climb the tree. Well, Kweku took (the pot) and he'd be climbing a little and slipping a little. And finally, when he stretched out his hand to tie the pot to the branches, he slipped so that he almost fell to the ground. So he quickly grabbed hold of the coconut tree with both his hands, and when he did that, the pot slipped from his hand and fell into the canoe and broke. And the wisdom that was in the pot spread over all the world. That is why today there is widom in the world. And Kweku Ananse, when he saw what he had done, was terribly ashamed. [So he jumped up on the celing to hide,][8] and that is why today the spider sticks to the ceiling. The end.

5. How Ananse outwitted all the animals

In this story, Kweku is for once successful in getting away with his shady dealings without being badly hurt or without feeling foolish. Some of the details, such as why the animals would take time out for a shave when they were about to sit down to a delicious meal, may be explained more fully in some other versions, but here the fact is stated with no reason given. This is a typical example of the kind of story that can go on and on indefinitely.

mbír piì' áà ákwi'à-mu'-nú kor-nú, nam-kóm kesínara síì' ándànsĩ ku'ró-mù'. afí' yí' agi'á kwakú' fáà nú-tú'r déè órikeye há. abír áà okori pów-nu nú-mù'-nú, waankér bí'ara na owansán kwi'áà-mú'. ma mírikã yí', kwakú' pímà nú-tú'r ntámara, na otúù owansán-nu. na kwakú' kefáà owansán-nu di-nú túù ná-apakã̃-nu nú-mù'. na abír áà ókataà dú na ókikirì wi'é-nu, osìì'-mú' déè órikò fí'e. waankér bí'ara na óbotuù patakú̃', na abír-nu na kwakú' ándànsĩ rísù̃'. ńti' patakú̃'-nu bi'sáà-nu ná-amandié. na obú'à-nu dem̀, má-agi'á áwù', na midi nú-fún ríkò mí-ku'ró-mù' akásì'é-nù. na opatakú̃'-nu ná-akumá guóì' ma oní kwakú' dìì' yáà, na omáà-nu akédi m̀pu'o. na kwakú' sìì'-mú' déè óriko, na waankér ára sú bí'ò na ókahi'a osibó, na ná-aniankufú, na abír-nu nú-mù'-nú kwakú' ándànsĩ káá ná-asém kírè-hon, ma woní-nu dìì' yáà, na womáà-nu adikédi. na abír áà kwakú' sìì'-mu' bí'ò-nú, osó dánì núhũ káá kírè osibó déè ongi'é kwakú' ándànsĩ ndí',ńti' wónfa kwakú' ándànsĩ na wónhwe adi aa ówo apakã̃-nu nú-mù'-nú. wokorìì, na wóhweè apakã̃-nu nú-mù'-nú, wohu'n déè owansán da-mú'. na osibó-nu nú-bú fúù' kesínara, na nke ákà kúrà ma waakú'm kwakú' ándànsĩ. ándànsĩ ná-ahumá túù' piì' ma odi nám-nu dimáà osibó. na wosìì'-mú' déè wórikó osibó-nu nú-ku'ró-mù'. ma mírikã yí', osibó fúrà sár-mù' mbúa ni'náara déè wómbùra nú-ku'ró-mù' m̀badìdí'. na kwakú' ándànsĩ sú na ogi'na hó rígwìn.

[8] This phrase is supplied from other stories to provide a transition to the next statement.

na wówi'è adi'bán ni'náara ye-nú, na wótinà hó déè wóribadìdí'-nu, ánàansĩ héè
así déè órisiriw. wóbi'saà-nu así-nu, di aa ókaà ní yí', húm-yè nkwasiafú dúdù.
owo déè húm-yì' húm-tí' simá. na wobi'sáà-nu déè oni'm yé a. kwakú' ánàansĩ
káà kírè-hon déè oni'm yé, ńtí' se wope déè óyì' hón a, ónu wónkokwi'à nkurúbata
wónfa ḿbùra. na kwakú' ánàansĩ káà kírè-hon déè wónda hó, na ohéè así déè
ódi nkurúbata yí' ódi rítimá-hon, na abír áà ówi'è-nú, o káà kírè hón-ni'náara déè
wónsùér, na waantú'm. ńtí' ohéè-hon bí'ò déè wómbo ḿbodin ńsùér, ná sú
waantú'm. ńtí' kwakú' ánàansĩ héè así déè órisiriw bí'ò ná sú oríyì'-hon ahí', na
ohéè así déè órihè-hon ahúruba. abír áà ówi'è-nú, oketínà hó na ohéè así déè
órididi'. ma mírikã yí', kwakú' ánàansĩ odidíì' ára nnáansã, na bi'oó bí'ara áà
waákukorì hú áwi'e-nu, ótùu díhwì hón-aní'-mù'. kwakú' ánàansĩ sú oto fabí' a,
na odi nkwán di ágù' hón-aní'-mù', máà ma woyéè mbóbór dúdù. na waankér
bí'ara na kwakú' síì-mú' déè órikó nú-ku'ró-mù'. na abír yí'-mù' sú, nsú' tóò
dìndinndin, ma mbúa-nu wotú'm̀ wosuérì na wokáà ntám déè [se] hón-nsá kã
ánàansĩ a, wobétìtíw nú-mù' pásaa. ńtí' wohéè así déè wórití'w ánàansĩ. waankér
bí'ara na wótuù-nu, na opatakú' héè asì déè óritìtíw nú-mù'. ánàansĩ héè asì déè
órisiriw bí'ò, na okáà kírè-hon déè, se wope déè ógu'ò a, ónu wóntuu-nù súr ma
ónhwi fá-mù' mpén abi'ásã. na nkwasiafú-nu sú, wogi'éè díì' na woyêì. abír áà
wotúù kwakú' ánàansĩ súr-nú. obohwìì fá-mù', na abír-nu nú-mù'-nú na ánàansĩ
rihwihwé gu'án su'má biá. ńtí' wótúù ánàansĩ súr bí'ò-nú, waanhwí fá-mù'
kuraá, ḿbu'óm okefámì ntar-dú. ńtí' na ńde ánàansĩ fam hó-nu. awi'é.

A long time ago, a great famine struck the land of the spiders. Then father
Kweku took his gun to go hunting. When he got into the forest, it wasn't long
before a deer came along. Well, Kweku quickly loaded his gun and shot the
deer. And Kweku went and picked up the deer and put him in his basket And
when he had put the cover on and tied it up, he started off to go home. Soon
he met a wolf, and then Kweku Ananse began to cry. So the wolf asked him
what was wrong. And he answered him, "My father has died, and I am taking
his body to my land to bury it. And the wolf's heart softened, so that he
mourned with Kweku, and even gave him a present. And Kweku started to
go on, and it wasn't long again before he met a leopard with his friends, and then
Kweku Ananse told them his tale, so that they mourned with him and gave him
gifts. And when Kweku had started out again, a fox turned and told the
leopard that he didn't believe Kweku Ananse, so they should take Kweku
Ananse and see what was in his basket. They went, when they looked in his
basket, they saw that there was a deer in it. So the leopard was terribly angry,
and he was about to kill Kweku Ananse. The spider's heart was thumping so
fast that he took the meat and gave it to the leopard, and they [all] started out
for the leopard's land. Well, the leopard called all the wild animals to come to
his land to eat. And Kweku sat there thinking. And when they were all
through preparing the food, and had sat down there to eat it, the spider began to
laugh. When they asked him what was up, he said, "You are awful fools. You
have to have your heads shaved." So they asked him if he could do it. Kweku
Ananse told them he could, so if they wanted him to shave them, they should go
cut some branches and bring them. Then Kweku Ananse told them to lie down
there, and he began to take the branches and nail them down. And when he was

through, he told them to get up, and they couldn't. So he had them try again to get up, and still they couldn't. So Kweku Ananse began to laugh again and to tease them, and he began to make fun of them. After this, he sat down and proceeded to eat. Well, Kweku Ananse ate away for three days, and when he was through chewing on the bones, he threw them in their faces. And sometimes Kweku Ananse would take some soup and pour it over their faces, and made them a very pitiable sight indeed. And after a while Kweku set out to go back to his land. And then it began to rain terribly hard, so that the animals were able to get up, and right away they swore that if they got hold of the spider, they would tear him limb from limb. So they began to chase the spider. It wasn't long before they caught him, and the wolf began to tear him up. The spider began to laugh again, and told them that if they wanted him to be quiet they should throw him up in the air three times and let him fall. And the fools believed (him) and did it. When they threw Kweku up, he would fall down, but meanwhile the spider was looking for a place to run and hide. So when they threw the spider up again, he never did fall down, but stuck to the ceiling. That is why today the spider sticks there. The end.